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AND MONOGRAPHS

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V

SARDINIAN PAINTING

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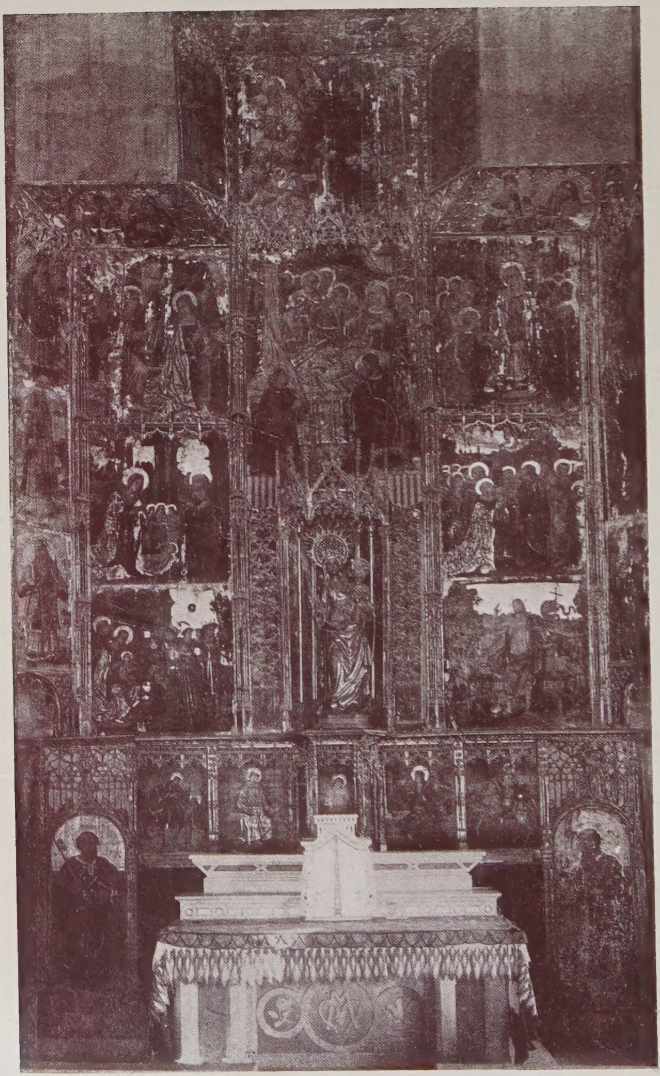

(*V.* p. 134)

Photo. A. R. Gilles

Retable of Ardara

SARDINIAN PAINTING

I

THE PAINTERS OF THE GOLD BACKGROUNDS

By

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To

E. H. L.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work could never have been seriously intended without the exhaustive knowledge of the island, distinguished Sardinian scholarship and constant untiring assistance, of my dear friend Mrs. A. R. Giles of Sassari. It could not have reached any conclusion without the generous courtesy of Dr. Carlo Aru of the Museum at Cagliari, on whose learning and judgement I have relied throughout. I am also greatly indebted, for many favours, to the distinguished director of that Museum, Comm. Taramelli, whose ever unexpected and often ingenious assistance is a pleasant memory. To Professor Brunelli I owe sincere thanks for the gift of articles that he has published from time to time, and that are the only serious studies, not written by a Sard, on Sardinian painting which have been printed. On Dr. Aru's articles, and on the writings of Signor Scano in architecture, of the late

Obligation

Opinion

Canon Spano in painting, and Baron Manno, now long dead, in history, the statements of fact are based. For the opinions I am solely responsible. As it is my good fortune to be more familiar with Spain than most Italian scholars and also more familiar with Italy than Spaniards generally, this has helped in forming them: if after twelve years of constant intercourse with the Catalan and Valencian primitives, and twenty-four years' study of early Italian painting, they are not sound, there is no chance for them. I have studied on the spot nearly every picture mentioned. To generous gifts of Dr. Aru and my old and lamented friend Sr. Sanpere y Miquel, to kind permission of Director Taramelli, and to long and laborious work by Mrs. Giles, I owe the photographs, studied for two years and now reproduced: also to the photographers, Sr. Mas of Barcelona and Fratelli Alinari of Florence.

For permission to publish the great central panel of S. George, by Joan Figuera, thanks are offered to the owner, D. Emilio

Cabot of Barcelona, and for the Virgin, probably from Oristano, to the Corporation of the City of Birmingham. Gratitude is due also, before all and after all, to the President of the Hispanic Society of America, who originally commissioned the undertaking, and whose genius and divination the work has again, as I hope, justified. Permission

G. G. K.

May Eve
1922

CONTENTS

PAGE
¶ Acknowledgement vii
¶ Sardinia down to 1600 1
¶ The Painters of the Gold Backgrounds 43
¶ Appendices 197
¶ Notes 207
¶ Working Bibliography 212
¶ Index 215

PLATES

I. Retable of Ardara . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

II. Apse fresco, Saccargia . . 2
III. Triptych, Sassari . . . 3
IV. Crucifixion, Melis . . . 10
V. Retable of S. Bernardino, Cagliari 11
VI. id. Side panel 18
VII. id. Pietà 19
VIII. Predella from S. Lucifero 34
IX. S. George, Cabot Collection, Barcelona . . . 35
X. Retable of Joan Barcelo, Cagliari 42
XI. id. S. Apollonia 43
XII. Carnicer Retable, Cagliari 50
XIII. id. presepio 51
XIV. id. predella 66
XV. Retable of the Pestilence, Olzai 67

FACING PAGE

XVI. Retable of the Trinity, Saccargia 74
XVII. Retable of Tuili, Cagliari. 75
XVIII. id. predella 82
XIX. id. Virgin 83
XX. Virgin of Castelsardo . . 90
XXI. Virgin of Birmingham. . 91
XXII. Retable of S. Martin, Segorbe 98
XXIII. S. Loy, from retable of Sanluri, Cagliari . . . 99
XXIV. id. frame 106
XXV. id. predella panel. . . . 107
XXVI. id. predella panels . . . 114
XXVII. Retable of S. Pantaleone, Dolianova. 115
XXVIII. id. Virgin and Bishop. . 130
XXIX. Retable of Ardara, dead Christ 131
XXX. Vernicle, Ardara, and Pietà, Sanluri 138
XXXI. Retable of S. George, Perfugas 139
XXXII. Retable of Villamar, Cagliari 146

FACING PAGE

XXXIII. id. predella 147
XXXIV. Crucifix, Sassari 162
XXXV. Retable of Lunamatrona, Cagliari 163
XXXVI. Retable of the Transito 170
XXXVII. Retable of Fonni, . . . 171
XXXVIII. Retable of the Visitation, Soradile 178
XXXIX. Retable of the Confraternity, Orani 179
XL. Retable of SS. Sebastian and Julian, Oliena . . 186
XLI. S. James, Carmine, Cagliari 187

I

Of the islands that lie in the Mediterranean like a broken string of beads, Cyprus, Crete, Malta, Sardinia and the Balearic Isles, not much is understood. The civilization was once perhaps identical, the stock is still essentially the same. Sardinia was at one time the farthest western outpost of Ægean traffic: the artizans of King Minos and the workmen of Daedalus sent their earthenware thither and set up their sacred pillars there. Ingots of smelted copper, too, they fetched and sold, stamped with Ægean seals. The Tartessans, exploring eastward, brought bronze-work and perhaps a bull-god: and left amber as they passed, either going or coming, to be carried up to the stone towers among the hills. Back and forth the sea-rovers passed: and the wild chieftains who lived in the round towers called *nuraghi* took their spoil, each lord of a little land, allied with his peers in a tame-

Isles of the Sea

less close-knit society like that of the *giudici* in the Middle Age. Carthage conquered them in the sixth century, and Spanish troops that were fetched to garrison the southwest sometimes broke away and allied themselves with the unconquered islanders among the mountains, married and settled down, mingling their blood with that of the kindred stock.

Roman domination

Then Romans, when imperalism first seized upon the Republic, set out to conquer and to colonize, and Tiberius Gracchus in B.C. 238 annexed the island. The corn and salt, the timber and minerals, and the beautiful building stones, basalt, red granite, violet porphyry and black marble, these were all needed in the peninsula. There was some colonizing under the Empire, chiefly by poor immigrants or freed slaves, or old soldiers discharged, but native names are common even in the Roman inscriptions. The Romans never liked the Sards, and Cicero and Horace have been quoted often against them; but indeed Romans rarely liked natives anywhere. The stubborn stocky

(*V.* p. 52) *Photo. C. Aru*

Saccargia, Frescoed Apse

III

(*V.* p. 55)

Photo. Alinari

Triptych of Sassari

islanders that made as good soldiers in Punic and Imperial armies as, two millenniums later, on the Brenta and in the Austrian Alps, were hard to handle in any other capacity. They "when enslaved either do not tolerate life at all, or, if they do live, wear out their owners by their dullness and insensibility," as free men brutalized by suffering. In the words of an impartial and indeed indifferent scholar,[1] "The untractable skin-clad Sards who filled the Italian slave-markets, were left to represent a race which had attained a fairly high civilization when Italy was still in barbarism."

Religion

The primitive religion of the island may have been some sort of tree and pillar cult; it was almost certainly adapted early to a cult of the ancestral dead, and devotion to the burial places of the race. Eastern religions struck no root; gods of Egypt were, indeed, honoured, and Jupiter Dolichenus once at least, but of Mithras has been found no trace. The temper of the people, never mystical, was, rather direct, fervent, preoccupied with the simplest human rela-

Early Christianity

tions. Christianity under the Antonines was discoverable among them, and under Diocletian was persecuted. In the third century Christians were sent to work in the Sardinian mines; in the Diocletian persecution was martyred S. Lussorio, a soldier who converted himself by reading the Bible; under Constantius the Bishop S. Lucifero was so orthodox that finally he was ruled out as schismatic. It is characteristic that the Sardinian church should be on the western side, to the edge of orthodoxy and beyond, in the Arian controversy; the island which turns a steep shoulder of rock to the sunrise, and offers harbours only on the west, the north and the south, has looked always in the direction of the sun's journey.

To the Vandal kingdom it belonged while that existed, and it received Moorish exiles, as it had once received Punic mercenaries. The bones of S. Augustine long rested here, till a Lombard king carried them off to Pavia; S. Fulgentius lived and taught for years in Cagliari and organized a life under canonical rule; the Goths were

masters after the Vandals had gone. From 553 on, Sardinia was politically a part of the eastern empire, and a very few traces may yet be found and followed, of Byzantine building and Coptic carving; but in the main it was, ecclesiastically, under the jurisdiction of Rome. The letters of Gregory the Great show that a fair part of the people were still pagan and likely so to remain, for idolaters paid the same sort of license tax as Christians in Spain under the Moorish domination, and in each case the civil power was not ill content to encourage so cheap a source of revenue.

S. Saturnino of Cagliari

Moorish invasion, by this time, had already begun, and Lombards were raiding from the north: Sardinia in the seventh century was in a sad way. Just when and how the Moslems took the island, is not known, but before 725 they held it. The fact is given as a reason for Charlemagne's traditionally bestowing the lordship thereof upon the Pope; the Lombards claiming it from the Saracens but never capturing it, the Franks claiming it with the rest of the Lombard heritage, and bestowing else-

Moorish invasion

Alien domination

where, with thrifty liberality, what they could not have taken nor ever held. Corsica in truth was, according to the *Life of Pope Adrian*, thus bestowed and accepted; but Sardinia is not named in any record of Charlemagne's confirmation of the donation of Pippin nor in the Papal correspondence with the Emperor Constantine and Irene the Empress. Conceivably the island, for the most part, was free. What the eastern empire lost at the first Saracen invasion, was hardly won for the African dominion; in 813 a great armada was broken up and destroyed by storm before it could make a landing, and a hundred Saracen ships went down in the Sardinian waters. The Moors of Spain had lost their Corsican loot to the Catalan Count Ermengard of Ampurias, who was in occupation of Mallorca at the time; they raided Civita Vecchia, and Nice, and Sardinia, and from the mainland ports they got booty, but the Sards beat them off, as the Chronicle of S. Denis relates. (Manno, I, 343)

What happened in the tenth century it is hard to say: probably the Moors held

the seaboard like their Carthaginian predecessors, and probably the strong chiefs in the interior held their towers and ruled their followers like the race of the *nuraghi*. Possibly to this century must be referred the earliest of the *giudici* or judges, whose name could well fit such a lordship, and it is used sometimes interchangeably with that of king by mainland historians, but soon stands alone. Meanwhile it is plain that the African domination was none too secure, for at the dawn of the eleventh century the Popes are urging Genoese and Pisans, nothing loth, to recover the island. Musetto King of Africa was in possession when John XVIII, in 1004, offered the lordship of the island to Pisa, and when Benedict VIII, in 1017, repeated the offer he recited the Saracen atrocities by way of helping propaganda: the king was said among other things, to have walled up living men in building his fortification.

In large part only nominal

At the same time the conquest of Sardinia was attempted from the west by the King of Denia, Mochehid. Denia was a great port for ship-building: thence in

Mochehid's expedition

August or September of 1015 the King set out with his chief wife and eldest son, both of whom were Christians.[2] He had taken the Balearic Isles in the spring of the same year, and his action was probably in competition with the Pope's, rather than hostility: it would be in any case a redemption of the island from corsairs and fetish-worshipping barbarians; but it came to no good end.

Pisans and Genoese

Pisans and Genoese in alliance were to drive out Musetto in the year 1020, as the Pisan Breviary records, but as late as 1050 his name recurs in the Pisan annals. Before the century was ended the two mainland republics had defined their spheres of influence and established the scions of great houses in the capital cities. Gherardeschi in Cagliari, Doria in Alghero, and similarly elsewhere, and the grafts grew up like goodly cedar trees. Pisa claimed whatever might have been left unappropriated.

Judges

Meanwhile Judges were recognized as holding directly from the Roman see, and their office was elective, though it remained in a single family for each of the four regions, Cagliari, Arborea, Logudoro and Gallura. The Pisans made it out somehow with these authorities, and carried off to their own city, along with the precious bones of S. Ephisius out of a Sardinian grave, the precious marbles for their cathedral out of the Sardinian mountains. The ruins of the ancient Tharros being finally abandoned, Oristano was built near where the Tirso debouches, looking over to Valencia at the mouth of the Liria. There the Judge of Arborea settled, with an archbishop and the people and clergy of the region. The Judge of the Logudoro resided sometimes in the castle of Torres, above the sea, in the northwest, and sometimes in the fortified episcopal city of Ardara, hill-crowning, still unspoiled. The Genoese built above the northern sea the stronghold now called Castelsardo, and on the west, the safe and ample seaport of Alghero. Cagliari, rearing her streets

and towers on the steep height above the harbour and roadstead, was rebuilding walls and gates and laying the foundations of the cathedral. Thence—from the Castillo of Cagliari—successive Judges made those donations to S. Lawrence of Genoa and the cathedral church of Pisa which, while acknowledging obligations in turn to each of the rival communes, indicate a status of alliance rather than subjection. Gifts were offered also to S. Victor of Marseilles, the same great Cluniac abbey which gathered up possessions in Spain, and at S. Juan de las Abadesas turned out the Catalan nuns[3] to put French women in their place.

Gifts to Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles

In the expedition of 1114 against the Moors of the Balearic Isles, Turbin of Cagliari and the son of Constantine of Torres both took part, and brought home glory, the elder for his counsel, the younger for his exploits: doubtless they brought home spoil likewise.

1156 A generation later falls the tragical history of Barisone of Arborea, who had married a noble Catalan lady, pledging

(*V.* p. 65) *Photo. A. R. Giles*

Calvary at Milis

(*V.* p. 68) *Photo. Mas*

Retable of S. Bernardino

(Central panel)

three rich cities in dower, and who was driven from his domain by the ancient enmity of the houses then ruling in Torres and Cagliari. To him Frederic Barbarossa, at the instance of the Genoese, granted the title and rights of king of the entire island. His subjects, however, refused to pay the moneys promised to the Empire and to the Consuls of the Republic, and these last took him back to Genoa and kept him there in pawn, in a kind of stately captivity. Like the chess-king he ended his days, in a powerless dignity, moved about from Genoa to Oristano and back again while the game was played with other pieces, by the mainland states. The latest of his documents which are known show him still in the characteristic attitude, looking to the bishop to make the move: one being a donation to the Benedictines of Monte Cassino on condition of their sending twelve monks from Italy to Arborea, among whom some shall be so instructed in letters that they can be elected incontinent archbishops or bishops, or in the imperial court or in the

Barisone of Arborea

Roman curia treat of the business of the *giudicato* and bring it to a happy issue.

Monte Cassino

The cleric as politician was a type developed and recognized early, and *real-politik* was never stronger, nor better understood, than in the twelfth century. Monte Cassino, as appears, bred not scholars alone.

Pisa

Three years later, he gave to the Metropolitan of Pisa a house of his with men servants and maid servants, and various farms, vineyards and herds. For several centuries Pisa seems to have played the part, for gentry and great folk of the island, of the splendid city to which one goes for the season: Barisone's establishment there was what a house in Park Lane or an hôtel in the *Quartier S. Germain* would be to a rich American engaged in oil or the packing industry, and he kept it till he saw death approaching. After this the board is cleared; Pisa and Genoa make peace and the Pisans take under their protection the young son of a crusading Judge of Gallura, that opens up to them the mountains of the north. He confirms a donation made to the cathedral of Pisa by

a subject of his own, called Benedetto, then the master-workman of the cathedral. This was in 1175: it is sheer luck that the name and the fact should come down where so much is lost.

Master Benedetto at Pisa

From the eleventh century to the thirteenth were building, in Sardinia, the great churches: some monastic, some collegiate, most of them cathedral, in a style that Italian archaeologists call Pisan[4] but that might as well be called Ligurian. In truth it belongs to all the eastern shore of the Tyrrhene sea, and ranges from Massa Marittima and Volterra up to the Piedmontese.

Their interest for this study is immediate: the abbey of the Trinity, at Saccargia, founded in 1116, contains the only important fresco which has survived: the church of Dolianova, built before 1170, contains the dispersed panels of an altarpiece of the titular, S. Pantaleone; and the Virgin of Tuili and the Bishop of Sanluri were

once in like surroundings. The magnificent ancona of Ardara is still *in situ*.

Churches of Sardinia

The churches themselves are entitled to a separate study, but that is not possible here. It must be enough to say that they constitute a class apart, with considerable difference among themselves but with more likeness to each other than to anything else. Sardinian is an architectural name like Lombard, or Cistercian, or Burgundian.

The Sardinian church has usually a nave and two aisles, a single apse, a single western portal. Towers and transepts are rare. The aisles have groined vaulting and the nave a timber roof: the nave arcade is carried on columns often antique or slender piers where marbles were inaccessible or exhausted. To a general statement like this many exceptions must occur: the monastic church of Saccargia has no aisles, in spite of its importance, but, on the other hand, has three apses and a narthex; S. Gavino at Torres has an apse at either end, doors in the flanks, and toward the east end a wall pierced with

three arches that recalls the Mozarabic disposition of churches in Spain. As in some Syrian churches, the columns are relieved by three cruciform piers on each side. In S. Pantaleone the aisles are ceiled with wood: in S. Pietro di Sorres, only, is nave-vaulting found. Types

Outside, the shallow blind arcade goes up the gable at either end, and runs along the wall and around the apse, relieved by slender pilaster strips. More often than not, the west front is divided simply by three greater arches, and the same system is found, for instance, at Ottana, on the walls of what was once a cathedral dedicated to S. Nicholas. The effect is like that of some later Armenian churches. S. Pietro of Zuri was built by a Comacine master: "Magister Anselmus de Cumis." A. D. 1291, so Spano. Cagliari cathedral shows Pisan tradition in the plan and Catalan traits in the arcade-moulding, a Roman sarcophagus built in for a lintel, a Gothic *chevet* inserted in a side apse. Everywhere indeed there is a chance of finding late-Gothic Spanish doorways, with their sharp reedy mouldings

and either ogee or Tudor arches; or true Mudéjar angle-vaults, with a rib sprung corner-wise; or that cusping like cut-out scallops laid over the torus of an arch, which the Spaniards got from Mesopotamia or eastern Syria perhaps, and employed for uncounted centuries. Certain traits in lonely churches recall the lonely Lombard buildings outside of Toscanella; certain carved scraps from Oristano recall the conventions of Coptic and Byzantine art. Two churches are yet standing, Eastern in structure and plan, domed, cruciform, and Byzantine; and one, underground, looks back to the rock-cut chapels of Cappadocia. On the other hand, at least one octagonal Catalan belfry may be seen on the road to Cagliari; as for that of Alghero, though the upper portion is square yet it terminates a vista and spans a doorway as though it were in Valencia.

S. Giovanni di Sinis

S. Salvatore, Cabras

Cf. Tramoveres, Valentian Architecture in Sardinia

The mediaeval ecclesiastical art of Sardinia, then, is proper to the land; it bears the traces of every conquest and of all the occupations. But in the island as in Italy grew up, in the twelfth century, a

beautiful type of Romanesque, lovely in proportions, in grace and strength, though all on a small scale; and ornamented with the shadow-patterning of blind arcades and the level banding of coloured stones.

Romanesque: the best

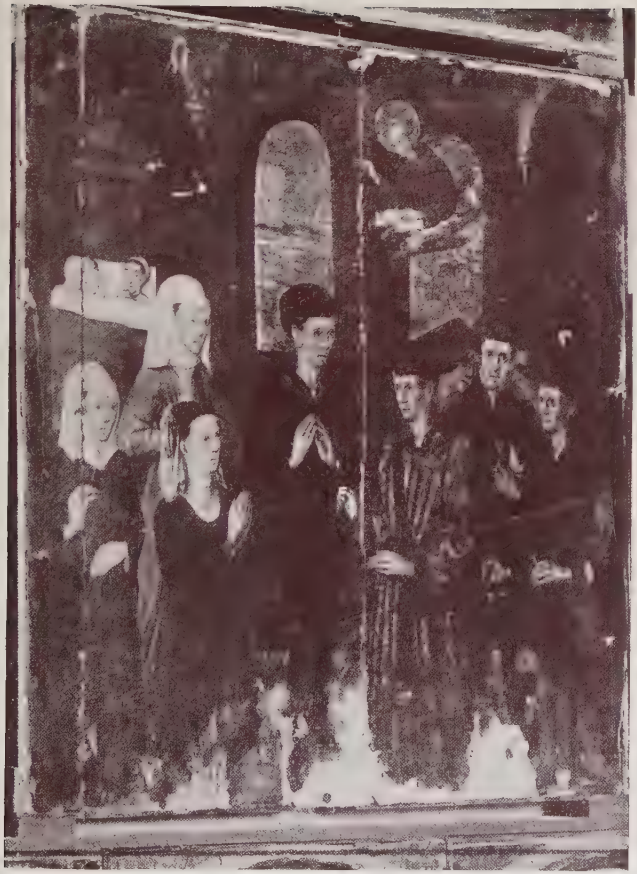
S. Gavino of Porto Torres, and S. Maria del Regno, at Ardara, are the eldest of these churches; S. Pantaleone of Dolianova the most exotic and picturesque; the cathedral of Cagliari the most splendid. Even in architecture, then, the art in which Sardinia owed most to Italy, many other elements have met and mingled, and the strange sea-borne beauties enhance the island virtues. To the mainland they could give: a Sard was master builder once at Pisa; another Sard there designed their windows, painted their choir-books, and sang incomparably: the sweetness of his voice has not yet quite died out of the quiet air.

Women rule

There was perhaps some old vestige of mother-right surviving in the ancient usage of the Judge-ship, reaching back to *nuraghi* days and beyond: certainly in Sardinia women inherited and held freely as their fathers. Benedetta of Cagliari succeeded on her father's death, married Parasone of Arborea, and ruled twenty-seven years. She is said to have had, in succession, three husbands. It may be on account of complications induced by these, or on account of the Pisan encroachments, that she did homage to the Roman curia: but indeed remembering the Countess Matilda and Isabella of Castile, and the good Queen Blanche and the great Queen Berenguela, she cannot be held extraordinary for that. Women and priests, in that age, held together and counted on each other.

Adelasia of Torres, 1237

Before she was dead, Adelasia of Torres was reigning, married to the Pisan Ubaldo who had entrenched himself in Gallura. He was mercifully removed by death; and Gregory IX in a letter of condolence to the widow was offering her a private gentleman



(*V.* p 69) *Photo. Mas*

Miracle of S. Bernardino

(*V.* p. 75)

Photo. C. Aru

Pietà, by Joan Figuera

of noble family firmly attached to the Holy See, when the *Giudicessa* gave her hand to a poet and an Emperor's son.

King Enzio

That darker destiny that walked close at the shoulder of Frederic and all his line—Enzio, Manfred, Conrad, Curradino—has insured for him the pity of all the following centuries: darkling he moves, a poet, a brilliant general, and blind: the glory of Frederic's name reflects a dim glimmer over the shadowy figure as in a twilight place. The "time to mount," of which his sonnet treats, he had early recognized; he was to wait long, in the time appointed "to take thy measures patiently."

It is doubtful whether Adelasia would have been happy with the Pope's minion, certainly with Enzio she was wretched. Sicilian use secluded women, and imperial tradition gave dominion to the male: the proud princess would not conform. They might be called, by imperial rescript, King and Queen of Sardinia, but she was a close prisoner in the castle of Goceano while he approved himself a flawless cham-

pion and man of war; and thereafter he lived three and twenty years in confinement at Bologna.

Inf. XXII, 88

When he died he was succeeded by that "Donno Michel Zanche di Logudoro" who was later to sit and chat with a gossip on the pitchy bank of Malebolge: and who had long since enjoyed both his kingdom and his spouse. Doubtless in legal form, and with the help of the Roman curia, the *Giudicessa* actually married him, as, two centuries after, the Lady of Forlì was to marry her seneschal Giacomo Feo. Like a red flower or a green bird, the brilliant figure of Adelasia flashes on her mountain citadel in the sun, with her impatient beauty, her unquenchable will to power that brooked neither solitary grandeur nor an equal mating, her petulant and stubborn policies.

Zanche however is in hell on another count: he probably betrayed her as he had betrayed his master; anon Brancaleone Doria married his daughter and spread a banquet-table from which he did not rise up alive. He was the last

Judge of Torres. All the cities of the north were now in Genoese hands, and there was none to withstand the great seafarers. The Pisan Count Ugolino had long been raiding these parts—happier if he had died in some island skirmish among the hills than to have survived till he entered the Tower of Hunger. As early as 1267 Clement IV had entertained claims from three princes to what they called the throne of Sardinia—from King Charles of Sicily, the Infant Henry of Castile, and King James II of Aragon.

Count Ugolino

Inf. XXXII–XXXIII

Mariano of Arborea at this time held his court in Pisa, "one of the greatest and potentest citizens of Italy," Villani calls him: there he and his band of knights must have looked very like that fair company, in the sweet orchard, that illustrate, in the Campo Santo, the Triumph of Death. The Judge of Gallura was that gentle and just spirit whom Dante greeted in the Dell of Princes, Nino Visconti; in his daughter Giovanna the office became extinct. She was the daughter of the elder Beatrice d'Este who had "changed her white

1282

Purg. VIII, 53

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Giovanna of Gallura

wimples"; of her own life nothing is known. Possibly she died in girlhood, possibly she married; in any case her stepfather and the successors of Galeazzo Visconti claimed her heritage but got nothing. Sassari set up for a free republic.

Eleanora of Arborea

A hundred years later Eleanora of Arborea was to close the line of her house, after a long and gallant reign. She conducted armies when her husband was negociating at court or lying in prison; and she subdued rebellions in Arborea and brought Aragon to reasonable terms; anon when he took the field, she ordained and supervised the code of laws which goes by her name and which Alfonso of Aragon extended to the entire island. She was a great-hearted lady; her ready wit, her sound sense, her personal courage, her sure judgement, are remembered and glorified still. Doubtless it was harder to rule well under a Spanish king than, like Benedetta and Adelasia, to be accountable to none: her tact, her promptitude, her steadfastness, accomplished it. She died in 1404, her young son Mariano soon followed her,

and thereafter there was at Arborea no more than an empty name, one title the more to grace a Spanish grandee withal.

Bosom to Spain and back to Italy

The Romans sneered at the Sards because they were "natives" and not really ever Latin; the modern Italians, in a better temper, have urged the identity of the whole Italian realm, and the islanders, responding, have thrown in their lot with the mainland loyally; but the truth is that the island turns her back on Italy and opens her bosom to Spain. The Genoese could not take it, except fragmentarily, as personal property of Doria, Malespina or Spinola; the Pisans could not hold it, and after the battle of Melora in 1284 they owned little but the Castillo or upper town of Cagliari. The lords of Arborea, from the river-mouth and the meres of Oristano, looked westward to the Isles and to the Catalan coast. Ugone III, who welcomed the Aragonese fleet, was called by name

Serra, like his father and uncle who preceded him, and that is a Catalan name.

Boniface VIII

As early as 1295 Boniface VIII had made a secret treaty with D. Jaime II by which Charles of Anjou was to be left undisturbed in Sicily and the House of Aragon was to receive Sardinia. This was such another pact as those of Pippin and Charlemagne, by which two parties exchanged what belonged to neither: the Spaniards were preoccupied at the moment. Two years later D. Jaime went to Rome for solemn investiture with the kingship of Sardinia and Corsica. The cathedral which Pisans, unwitting or incredulous, began in 1312 was to be finished by Spaniards in 1331; meanwhile Sassari sent a physician, Michele Pietro, to invite the king and the king's men, and the whole west coast, under Hugh of Arborea, prepared to rise against the Pisan intruders. The Infant

Alfonso IV

D. Alfonso, D. Jaime's second son, undertook the conquest and sailed from near Tarragona in 1323.

The Viscount of Rocaberti had set out from Barcelona and landed in Oristano.

where the Judge of Arborea met him, passing directly toward Cagliari, to the place called Quarto. D. Alfonso and the Infanta Doña Teresa, apprized of this, sailed around to the port of Palma and there disembarked the cavalry and the remainder of the army, and laid siege to the city now called Iglesias. In the north Doria and Malespina had sworn fealty to Aragon, and the city of Sassari received very joyfully the new governor Guillermo Moliner. The Spaniards who were investing Cagliari constructed a city of their own on the height of Bonaria.

D. Alfonso's invasion

The siege of Iglesias was bitter. The town held out for eight months, and the terrible Sardinian malaria ravaged the Spanish host. When D. Alfonso fell ill, says old Ramón Muntaner, the Infanta nursed him so faithfully and well that she saved him. The city agreed to surrender if not relieved by Pisa within forty days; the Pisans set out so late and delayed so often that before they came the gates had already been opened, and the entering army had found no food within.

Battle of Cagliari, 1324

Before Cagliari battle was joined at last. At one moment the banners barred with gold and scarlet were all overcome: then the Infant, coming up and thrusting into the thickest press, stood on the flag, and so, fighting, saved it till the day was turned. In the next hour his horse was killed but his knights pushed up and closed in, though in the second charge he outstripped, again, even his personal companions. The Pisans fell back, and the gates of the Upper Town received them: the Prince returned to camp at Bonaria, bleeding freely and holding the flag still. The admiral in these hours had defeated the Pisan fleet. The siege went on—with catapults and rams and other engines arrayed and with great skill employed; while the sick were sent up into the hills inland. Finally, through Bernabo Visconti, a liegeman of Aragon, the terms of capitulation were arranged: the commune of Pisa should recognize the king and do homage for the Castillo of Cagliari with the suburbs of Stampace and Villanova, the port, and the meres: but the salt-works

should pass to the crown; the Pisans should pay an annual tax, they might live where they liked in the island or elsewhere in the domain of Aragon, as Spanish subjects; and all prisoners should be released. All castles were duly surrendered to the Spaniards; but it was a memorable and a bitter hour when Peter of Luna hoisted the gold and crimson bars over that of Cagliari. Bonaria was finished. Catalan and Aragonese castellans were set in all the fortresses, and Filippo of Saluzzi, fetched from Sicily, became governor general.

The Catalan bars

The Pisans tried once to rebel, with the help of a Genoese fleet; but, defeated on sea and land, and getting no good from dissentions of the Spanish officers that centred about Stampace and Bonaria, they sent a commission to investigate—two friars, a knight, and two lawyers composed it. The solution simplified the earlier treaty arrangements, and remitted the indemnity due from taxation; the Upper Town of Cagliari was given up, the cathedral and private persons retaining their property. When the king D. Jaime

died and D. Alfonso succeeded him, in 1328, the island had settled down to comfortable living under one sole lord.

The menace of Genoa

Partizans of the mainland republics were weeded out and sent home. Sassari having rebelled was made an example, foreigners and seditious natives being evicted together, and Catalans, Aragonese, and other loyal subjects put in their place. Cagliari, on the other hand, received special privileges. The Pisans by now had been so reduced by Florence that they offered no danger of competition, but the great commercial state of Genoa was forever a menace to Barcelona and the Catalan shipping interests, and elected to fight these in the island of Sardinia. D. Pedro IV found allies in the eternal enemies of Genoa, the Venetians. A great victory off Alghero, and a futile rising in the city, brought about the repeopling of it with Catalans: and to this day the town talks broad Catalan.

The King D. Pedro, having assured to it many privileges, then went down to Cagliari and called the first Parliament of

the island. It was modelled apparently after the Cortes of Catalonia. Alfonso V after a short interregnum resumed the practice. So the Aragonese conquest gave to Sardinia the first united, general and native assembly that it had known, where the constituent members—Aragonese and Spanish over-lords, prelates and gentry of the island, and the representatives of the cities and towns—could eye each other and interchange opinions.

Parliament of Sardinia

This was in 1355: Mariano of Arborea, misliking an equal rule, stayed away, though he sent his wife and son to take the oaths. Thereafter he rebelled twice, and Pope Urban V offered him the investiture of the kingship; he defeated the Spaniards before Oristano in 1368; he died, and his son died within the next fifteen years and his daughter the *Giudicessa* Eleanora ruled for twenty-one years and made peace in the end. Meanwhile the king D. Martin the Humanist, visiting, on his way home from the reconquered state of Sicily, the chief places, Cagliari, Alghero and Sassari, gave concessions to those and other cities.

1377

and granted a further measure of liberty undreamt of before, the right of the Sards to sit in the Courts General of Catalonia and Mallorca. There was even a special clause to cover the likelihood of late arrival by delays of seafaring.

King Martin of Sicily

Nevertheless, another rebellion was to be quenched. The wise *Giudicessa* Eleanora and her young son dying within a year of each other, and the disputed succession lying between her husband, a Doria, and her brother-in-law, Aymery of Narbonne, a Spanish subject, these formed a sort of coalition. Then King Martin of Sicily resolved to match himself against the memories of the Infant D. Alfonso and the King D. Pedro, and in spite of his father's warning recommendation, sent from Spain, to let well enough alone, he set out to bring the entire island directly under the crown. In the Catalan Cortes the nobles voted for the adventure, and the quota of a thousand

lances there appropriated was made up from volunteers of great houses. The city of Barcelona contributed three ships. The great anti-pope Benedict XIII, D. Pedro de Luna, then ruling splendidly and not yet disbarred, sent a hundred men at arms captained by his kinsman D. Juan Martínez de Luna. What with twenty-five great galleons, ten galleys, and fifteen galliots, with other lesser craft, a hundred and fifty ships set out. The whole island rose to welcome King Martin, who made Alghero his headquarters and raided down to Cagliari. In the Gulf of Asinara the little Sicilian fleet defeated the Genoese.

Benedict XIII

On the plain of Sanluri the Viscount of Narbonne and his Genoese and island allies were gathered: there the king met him in a fierce battle: the slaughter of Sards was horrible. The Viscount, his standard lost, was chased to the castle gate of Monreale, and the Sanluri plain was sacked and another thousand of the people were killed. The Pretender had withdrawn to Oristano and was besieged there; a Sard, Giovanni de Sena or Dessena, had

The damsel of Sanluri

reduced Iglesias to obedience; the prospect was fair for completing the conquest of the southwest and pacifying the land. But to Cagliari came a beauteous damsel of ravished Sanluri, and beguiled the gallant young king who felt, as soldiers usually feel, entitled to pleasure in full measure proportionate to the dangers overpassed. The memory of his doom is a by-word in Sardinia. So deadly was the beauty of the damsel of Sanluri, so deep and so mortal the intoxication of the conqueror, that the soldier's cup of pleasure, as here it was drained, was fatal. The young king died. Sicilians, Catalans and Sards grieved sullenly for him. Crowned at sixteen, dead

1409

at twenty-three, he lies buried in a marble tomb in Cagliari cathedral.

Thereafter the Moncadas were so hard pressed before Oristano, that the childless king D. Martin in Spain pledged his city of Ampurias in Catalonia to raise money to carry on the war. The people of Arborea elected one of their own men, with a Catalan name, Leonard Cubells, with whom the viceroy D. Pedro de Torellas

came to a final agreement. The old title of Judge lapsed, and he became Marquis of Oristano, with the city, the Campidano and the province of Goceano to hold in fee. King Martin however died in that same year: Sardinian ambassadors passed over to Catalonia and asked the Cortes for help: it does not appear that they took part in the Compact of Caspe.

King Martin of Aragon

A succession of loyal Spaniards held the island as best they could against the arms and intrigues of Genoa, till the accession of Alfonso V, who in 1421 solemnly convoked the parliament of the Sard nation in Cagliari. The organization, the very names by which the Three Estates are known, are all Spanish. Anton Cubells succeeded his father as Marqués, Bernard Centellas was appointed to the supreme command, and occupation was found for restless adventurers in the Italian wars of 1430–33. It contributed to peace and stability when the Genoese lost their stronghold in the north, thereafter called Castelaragonese. Administrative measures slowly regulated the affairs of justice;

D. Carlos, Prince of Viana

successively the Sardinian troops distinguished themselves in the King's conquests; the already doomed Prince of Viana was entertained for a season in Cagliari, before he went home to die. In 1460 the crown of Sardinia, with the Sicilian, was annexed in perpetuity to that of Aragon. It is hard to see what good that did to the islanders except perhaps to their pride, but men die for pride and loyalty, and in the great Catalan rising of 1462 Sards fought well for King John and Prince Ferdinand: under the walls of Gerona died for them, amongst other, Pietro Dessena, the Viscount of Sanluri.

In 1475 that same terrible old man, King John of Aragon, incorporated in the crown the marquisate of Oristano and all that went therewith, anticipating here the policy that his son Ferdinand the Catholic was to pursue when he reached Castile. D. Juan died in 1479, and that same year died, as prisoners in the Alcázar of Jativa, the ci-devant Marquis of Oristano and the then Viscount of Sanluri. King Ferdinand, succeeding, granted the latter's title and

(*V.* p. 76)

Photo. C. Aru

Predella from S. Lucifero

(V. p. 76)

Photo Mas

S. George, by Joan Figuera

castle to his uncle Henry, the brother of Doña Juana Enríquez: that thrifty person sold it however within three days to the brothers Peter and Louis of Castile, and donations of the next year were turned into money almost as soon.

The Catholic Kings

The Catholic Kings were, on the whole, taken up with affairs in their own land. Few traces of their reign may be found in the island, except a little portrait of Queen Isabel, painted on copper, preserved in the church of Oliena, which almost certainly was copied from, and painted to replace a contemporary portrait.

Portrait of Queen Isabel

Viceroys came and went: were called home to give an account if trouble gathered, returned and managed better. The three-year term was strictly enforced, but a man might be reappointed. In 1503, pursuant to the fixed policy of the great ecclesiastical powers, the number of bishopries was reduced by consolidation. The see of Ampurias was transferred to what is now

Union of sees

Castelsardo, Dolianova united to Cagliari, Ottana and Bisarcio to Alghero.

1527

When Charles V had been King of Spain for eleven years, and when Rome had just been sacked, the French and Genoese under Andrea Doria invaded the island from the north and tried to capture Castelaragonese by surprise. The Viceroy was hard pushed, but up and spake Francis Dessena the Governor of Logudoro, and two gentlemen of Sassari, of the house of the barons of Tiesi, called D. Giacomo and D. Angelo Manca. They threw themselves into the castle while their friends scoured the countryside gathering supplies and heartening the folk. Inside there were no provisions, no munitions, and no men. They repaired the fortifications before the fleet appeared. Then the great Doria, whose name was not yet forgotten on that rocky headland, sent up a kinsman with a gallant invitation to surrender where defense was impossible and a helpless town might yet be saved from sack. The defenders declined, and following close with a sally, captured a French flag; D. Jaufrey

Cervellón with reinforcements from Sassari cut his way through and joined them. For an entire day they were bombarded by the fleet, but a sudden storm at dawn drove the flag-ship to sea and beached it on the shore of Asinara; the Florentine commander of the French troops drew off his men and set them to sack Sorso.

Siege of Castelsardo

Sassari was also occupied, but the foreigners, gorging themselves upon the fruit, the cheeses and curds, the sweetmeats, and the hot Sardinian wine, fell sick and died in great numbers: moreover the Sassarese, gathering themselves together and besieging their own town, so harried and beset the invaders that they took ship and sailed away.

When all was over, the imperial troops arrived. The defense of the island had lain with the islanders—first, peasants of the old stock, from the hills and the shore, the shepherds that to this day walk before their flocks, the husbandmen, woodlanders and charcoal-burners, mountaineers and miners, secondly, the gentry, native Sard still, and with the townsfolk, intermarried

The plague 1529

with Catalan and Spanish residents; and thirdly, Aragonese and Catalonian families which had been settled there for two centuries or three, and others later-come, but all inhabitants, with their nobility, their property, and their affections engaged there. They were ill-content at the incursion of starved and ragged mercenaries, dogs of the same pack that had been unleashed on Rome. These brought the plague, or it followed hard on their heels, and 15,000 persons died before it was stayed. The pestilence beginning to abate after the feast of SS. Sebastian and Fabian, those saints were the more loved, and are indeed to this day.

Jan. 20: S. Julian, Jan. 27 being included, gives a week's fiesta

Caesar twice visited the island. When setting out on the Tunis expedition in 1535 he appointed the Gulf of Cagliari for a rendezvous, and was entertained in the beautiful stately capital above the ample roadstead. Of Sards alone, it is said, 1119 were liberated by his victory. His stay in Alghero at setting out the second time gave occasion for more splendid and perhaps more characteristic festivities:

the memorial of all the pomp and beauty and genius there in play, is deposited in the archives of the city. The governor general of the province, who was D. Diego Dessena, met him, with four Sassarese gentlemen, two of them those that had saved Castelaragonese, and two kinsmen of these: they had arranged one of the famous Sardinian hunts, called nowadays *caccia grossa*, for the Emperor to see the moment that he landed, and by good luck the dogs and beaters started a wild boar, and Caesar himself slew the beast. With the Emperor were the Pope's nephew the Duke of Camerino, the Prince of Sulmona, the Master of Alcántara, D. Diego Davila, and the English ambassador. The remainder of the two days' fête cannot be told here, for custom and use and the fine flower of courtly life must be reserved for the volume which shall deal with the latter age.

Caccia grossa

In some ways the most important event of the reign was an agreement with the see of Rome already at this date concluded, by which the patronage of all benefices in the island was vested in the crown, with the

The major Orders

presentation of bishops and abbots. There was a time (I am not sure of the date) when it was found necessary to turn out all Italian ecclesiastics from the island, for reasons of state policy, and replace them by subjects of the king. Unluckily the mendicant orders were exempted from this action. In other words, the Spanish state was compelled a few centuries earlier,

and the frailes

to do what the French republic came to, not so many years since.

Philip II was never, I think, in Sardinia. Viceroys held court, administered justice, or blundered over it; in 1611 Philip III sent a Canon of Saragossa to visit the island and render a report upon it, Dr. Martin Carrillo. The work was published in Barcelona the following year: but what he found is matter for a succeeding volume, since with the ending of the sixteenth century the limit of this hurried sketch of Sardinian history is already overpassed.

The affection of the Sards for the Spanish rule is the subject of a long and significant passage in the history[5] that Baron Giuseppe Manno, himself a Sard, published in 1840.

The memoirs and traditions of the time, he says, prove it amply; and indeed the Sards had many reasons thus to feel. The Spanish government was wise in its laws and scrupulous in the faithful execution of what they ordained. The strongest desire that the islanders had at heart—that of self-government—was never quite rebutted, even in times when a newly-established dominion could not without danger have been left without the support of long-tried ministers, and it was gradually fulfilled, as longer experience showed clearly the loyal faith of the islanders. If at times officials transient in office by their decisions brought to nought the wisdom and authority of the laws, the Sards were aware by long experience that on appealing to the sovereign they should find loyalty and justice at the throne. If to these considerations it is added that the long habitude by which Sardinia was joined and intermingled with Spain in speech, in usage and in discipline, made her less truly one of the kingdoms of the empire than one of the provinces of the kingdom,

Manno on the Spanish régime

Sards loyal

it will be clearly seen why the Sards, in their devotion to that dominion, could overlook all the abuse which at times might appear in the administration of the state.

If ever praise might be impartial it is this, written by a subject of Savoy, looking back over the story of his own country: weighty, if ever praise were, and of great price, at this present time of ruined and broken empires and monstrous births of tyranny. Sure of law, of fair play, and of comprehension, left to themselves in the comfortable laissez-faire of pre-Revolution political theory, consciously at one with their rulers in speech, in way of life, in religious usage, in the primeval heritage of the most ancient habitation—the Sards fared well.

(*V.* p. 82)

Photo. Alinari

Retable of Joan Barcelo

(*V.* p. 84) *Photo. Alinari*

S. Apollonia

II

The island had long since become completely Spagnolized. The Sard language, which in its various dialects is, like Catalan and Provençal, one of the independent Romance tongues, absorbed a surprising number of purely Spanish words. A traveller may still fare through the island on colloquial Spanish, or on the diction of Cervantes and Lope de Vega. In Alghero to this day the speech is that of Barcelona. The gentry and clergy in the early Renaissance spoke Spanish, the literature thence on was written in Spanish and looked for its models to Valencia and Saragossa, to Valladolid and Toledo. The Spanish Religious Orders, before all that of the Merced, were dominant; to this day and present generation, the religious customs of the remotest mountain villages, of the loneliest fisher hamlets, are more like those of Catalonia and Valencia than like those of Liguria or

The Sard language

Religious drama

Tuscany. Such plays as the Mystery of Elche were played, in simpler form indeed, but with a more universal and immediate apprehension, through the length and breadth of the island within the memory of my personal friends, and they are dying out only because the Italian clergy is suppressing them.

These Sacred Representations, however, written none of them earlier than the seventeenth century, fall too late for a very serious reference here; and indeed the close and elaborate study of them by Anna Rose Giles is nearing completion and they will shortly appear in a volume by themselves; they must however be mentioned as evidence that for all the religious traditions of Sardinia we must look westward. In studying the origins and the ramifications of liturgical and saintly legend, of altarpiece and passion play alike, the key must be sought in Spain. Even Italian scholars do not always understand the implications of what they have in hand if they are unfamiliar with Spanish art and ritual and hagiography.

Something in the temper of the people irretrievably recalls the Spanish: their blood is nearer to the Iberian than to the Neapolitan. Speak to a Sard mountaineer in Catalan and he will answer intelligibly, transport him to Aragon and he will pass in a crowd, though he is shorter, bigger-boned and less spare. Spanish temper

Early Sardinian painting is a branch of Spanish painting: it ranks with Catalan, Valencian, Aragonese and Andalusian. To the former two it is very near. Later, as the next volume must show, it still remains less Italian than Spanish, being indeed to the end, and to this day, Sardinian. The predominant influence, apart from that of Raphael and his Roman pupils, comes from the Spanish peninsula. Sicily, up to the reign of Charles V, counts more perhaps than Naples. Certainly the closest likeness exists between Sicilian and Sardinian primitives. The warm current that circled between Naples, Valencia, and Spanish painting

Spagnoletto

Seville, washed the island shores. Spagnoletto at Naples, who wears his nickname by right of his genius no less than his nativity, did not leave Bosa, Ploaghe, and Fonni unaffected. Much seventeenth century work in remote churches and parish houses directly recalls the Spanish masters immediately antecedent: the ladies at Ploaghe are like Spanish court ladies, the apostles at Oliena are like a Spanish *apostolado*.

Mussolini scatters them 1923

The material for this study of the Sardinian primitives is found, largely, at Cagliari Museum, where most of the great retables are now deposited on loan to save them from raiding expeditions of dealers. Some are so far off, or so ugly, that the church still keeps them, though rarely are they found in a place of honour. But the dealers have long since collected most of them, and sold them into exile, to the ends of the earth. One is known to be in England, at Birmingham, one is suspected

to be in New York. As Sicilian and South Italian, as North Italian and Avignonese, as Spanish and French, they have been purchased and dispersed. Of Canon Spano's collection, of which the catalogue[6] is dated 1870, not one of the great pieces can be traced.

Pictures dispersed

Sassari guards safely a few precious panels in the town hall, and the churches keep many more *in situ* yet, or over side altars or on the walls of sacristies. Castelsardo enshrines the great Madonna, sister of that from Tuili and that from Oristano. Fonni, and Olzai, and Oliena have yielded to me rich finds.

The documentation of this material is not easy. Many records have been destroyed: doubtless on the records of many churches gifts of pictures were not entered. Spano knew everything: but an unlucky forgery in the *Codice di Arborea*, that deceived even the very elect, has vitiated all the learned Canon's conclusions, poisoned the springs of knowledge.[7] All his work must be done over again. It is of course quite possible that much matter

embodied in the *Codice* is true; that bits and nuggets of history are embedded in untrustworthy stuff; but the men are dead who knotted this tangled skein, and there are no clues which can be followed. For this reason it has seemed necessary to neglect the life-long work of Spano, except in so far as he speaks of what he saw and handled. The brilliant young curator of paintings at Cagliari Museum, Dr. Carlo Aru, is at present the ultimate authority on the entire subject.

1. Fresco

Two early frescoes have survived, in Sardinia, the wholesome whitewash which has been in vogue ever since the eleventh

2. "Pisan"

century. There are two paintings which seem to imply an Italian influence dominant before the Spanish conquest was achieved

3. Quattrocento

in the intellectual realm. There is a good group of quattrocento paintings, of the greatest interest: there is another group over which the influence of Raphael has

4. "Stampace"

breathed. Three dates only are known, or attainable approximately: but by the comparative method a certain chronology can be made out. That is the business of this book.

Mosaic

At Trieste on a hillside above the Adriatic harbour, at Palermo and Monreale above the *concha d'oro*, and at Torcello in the lonely island of the Venetian lagoons, within the twelfth century Byzantine workmen were setting mosaics to glorify the apse.

No other ornament was ever so costly or so splendid: none so fitted to adorn with imperishable beauty a far-sought harbourage and sanctuary. The style which had been invented to adorn the complicated curves of apse and pendentive and cupola, to adapt its shimmering colour to cruciform and domical architecture, had proved equally apt to enrich the long perspective of Romanesque basilicas and draw the eye eastward by deep blues and golden glories. But the Pantocrator of Cefalù and Monreale, like that at S. Sophia, was a half-length representation, and at Trieste the exquisite isolated figure of the Mother of God is set in a side apse: the twelfth century mosaics of Italy, even though finished in the thirteenth century, keep still the

intricate and imperial conventions established at Byzance in Justinian's day.

Les riches palais et les altes yglises

The tale of Byzantine splendour was carried over sea and land: every merchant or ambassador, every traveller, every pilgrim, could relate what had dazzled him like multitudinous jewels inlaid in solemn magnificence. Emperors like Charlemagne at Aachen, Sultans like Roger in Sicily, could copy them. For Rome Torriti and Cavallini, in the thirteenth century, could design fresh schemes and set them in great basilicas. But in the lonely mountain passes and among the isles of the sea, where the memory came only by hearsay, poverty and isolation alike imposed that the apse-decoration should be in fresco: a sort of painted transcript of what the East had fired.

The little Catalonian churches of the Pyrenean flanks painted the whole interior of the apse with the Apocalyptic Lord or the Epiphany, enthroned above a solemn line of saints: so they may be seen still at the chapel of S. Michael in the Seo de Urgell, at S. Pere del Burgal, at Fenollar and Tahull and Bohí. The

Or in Boston, Mass.

(*V.* p. 85) *Photo. A. R. Giles*

Carnicer Retable

(*V.* p. 86)

Photo. C. Aru

Carnicer Presepio

south of Italy can count the same sort, executed with the same intention, among the Byzantine frescoes of a hundred convents and chapels, from S. Angelo in Formis to S. Angelo of Monte Gargano. In Sardinia a single complete monument has survived, in the apse of S. Trinità di Saccargia, and here, as in Catalonia, there can be no question that fresco is replacing mosaic for lack of means, money and artists being both a-wanting. The wealth and devotion of later ages must explain why the instance is unique: all churches were fitted out in magnificence and modernity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Fresco

Constantino, Judge of Logudoro, with his wife Marcusa di Gunale, founded a Camaldolese monastery in the little river valley, under a hill, that is known as Saccargia: to the consecration, in 1116, came three metropolitans and no less than fifteen bishops. The convent would seem to have been dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the church to S. Mary: and the lovely building with narthex and tower and wide-spread transepts, built all of banded mar-

Saccargia

bles, goes indifferently under either advocation. The frescoes of the apse can hardly be earlier than the thirteenth century, but neither can they be later: they present a very close likeness to the Catalan series; for instance, to S. Michael of Angulastres.

Plate II

In the curve of the semi-dome appears Christ, blessing, with an open book, seated upon the rainbow and upborne in a mandorla by four sprawling angels. The formula is almost identical with the great tympanum sculptures of southern and western France, but the art is entirely pictorial. On either hand two winged archangels stand, with sceptre and orb, as, in the Byzantine mosaics, beside the Virgin, their dress adorned with pale disks that copy mother-of-pearl, like Cavallini's angels in S. Cecilia. Below runs a band of ornament, broken by five roundels, but the device in these is indecipherable: below that, on either side the small and deeply splayed window, stand the Virgin, and S. Paul, and ten of the Apostles. The Madonna is hooded and veiled, her two

hands are lifted from the wrist, palm outward—it is the Moslem gesture of the Catalan Pentecostal Virgins down to the fifteenth century. The S. Paul opposite her, with a long pointed beard, and a domical forehead, the S. Peter by her side, with bald crown like a skull-cap above the tonsure, and round beard, are both more Catalan in type than any description can make apparent. Another band of ornament cuts this off, and the lowest register is filled by five scenes that dimly recall Cavallini's scheme at S. Maria in Trastevere—these represent, I think, the Nativity and the Presentation of Our Lady, the Crucifixion, the Dormition of the B. V., and Pentecost. In the Crucifixion the majestic Christ, stretched out languid against a heavy cross, is less Titanic than Cavallini's dying God; the Virgin inclines her head, and the sense of personal charm disengaged from the figure and countenance, is not to be found in art I think before the thirteenth century. Of that date also is the gesture of S. John in the Dormition, with his hand under his cheek,

Moslem gesture

S. John, hand on cheek

just as he is carved on the doorway at Tuy and in the portico at Orense. In spite of the round-arched sanctuary in which the Entombment occurs, and the gaunt austerity of the Apostles' figures, this painting seems to me work of the thirteenth century, most archaic at the top where the iconography is most traditional, almost spontaneous in the fresh scenes of the lowest register.

Whence the painter came cannot be conjectured; probably he was a native Sard. He might have known the south of France, or Tuscany, or the Pyrenees, or southern Italy and Sicily: he probably had travelled. His employers had relations with all those regions.

Tree at S. Pantaleone

Only one other early fresco in Sardinia is known to me: that is one of those symbolic Trees so dear to the latter Middle Age, painted on the wall of S. Pantaleone at Dolianova. It is fourteenth century work, without much interest other than curious: two symbolic figures flank the trunk and others are crawling up and crashing down in the two concentric orbits

that enclose it. The whole represents a saintly hierarchy; not a scale of perfection but a wheel of the Law.

Cf. Ardara p. 138

Two paintings on panel are known to survive in the island which it is customary to assign to "the Pisan period." The polyptych of Ottana may be securely dated between 1340 and 1343: in Sassari at the Palazzo Communale there is a trecento triptych.

"The Pisan period"

As a matter of fact, the Spaniards were already in occupation at any date when these might have been painted. Furthermore, a close observer is not quite satisfied with the sweeping attribution *Pisan*. The triptych may be considered first.

Pisan painting so far as it may be distinguished from that elsewhere in Tuscany during the trecento, is recognized as more traditional and unreal. These three half-lengths, which represent S. Nicholas, S. Anthony Abbot and S. Lawrence, with a tiny Salvator Mundi above, are wooden

Triptych of S. Anthony

Plate III

Sassari triptych

indeed but surprisingly solid. They are like a laborious following of the Sienese and the square and heavy planes, particularly about the brow and nose of S. Nicholas, and the hair of S. Lawrence, are just what such disciples of the Sienese as Ferrer Bassa arrived at. The head of S. Nicholas's crozier is a superb piece of Limoges enamel, for which I do not at the moment recall a parallel; the pattern of the two side haloes is of a graceful richness rare away from Siena or Valencia, and the embroidery of S. Lawrence's dalmatic is in a curious set of patterns that may recall, at first glance, the designs of marble inlay and carving on tombs of the Pisani, but appear on closer inspection to range themselves with the square forms and long stitches of peasant embroideries.

Possibly the Tschudi S. Louis

S. Anthony, it should be noted, figures here as friar and not as anchorite, and he carries the book of his Rule. The figure is rare in Italian painting. In Catalan it is commoner: the great retable of S. Anthony that was burned in 1909 was only a single and supreme instance among many.

A fine S. Anthony enthroned that hangs in Mrs. Gardner's collection is a piece of Spanish painting, which can hardly have been executed at Naples, for the delicate inlay of interlacing polygons is pure Mudéjar work.

Ottana polyptych

Ottana was once a cathedral city, and the ruined altarpiece,[8] now deposited in Cagliari Museum, is inscribed with a reference to both judge and bishop. At the feet of the Virgin in the central peak of the triptych kneel a bishop and a young knight: the former is called *Fr. Silvr. Epṣ. Octan.* and the latter *Dns. Marianus de Arborea Dns Gociani et M[armillae fe]cit fieri.* He was the son of Ugone III the friend of D. Alfonso, and the father of Eleanora de Arborea; in 1338 the king D. Peter IV made him Count of Goceano; he lived till 1376. The bishop ruled till 1344: therefore the date of the ancona falls between the years 1338 and 1344. The composition is of a sort more familiar

Saints in pairs

Include Murillo's and Goya's

on the east coast of Spain than on the west of Italy, consisting of two central figures and flanking scenes from the legend of each—Spanish instances range from the beautiful retables of SS. Catharine and Clare in Segorbe cloister and Barcelona chapter-house, down to the clumsy compositions at Villafranca, and up to the centre of Borassá's great retable of the Poor Clares at Vich. The device is unimaginative, awkward: one is tempted to say, dogmatically, that in Italy it could not occur: not, at least, in Tuscany.

The two figures fill the central portion, standing against a gold ground worked with a delicate border: the halo of S. Francis fits into the head of the arch and is itself cut by the lower cusping on the left. He carries a processional cross of fine goldsmith's work, floriated at the four extremities and showing at the bottom the pointed stalk which fits into the wooden staff or stem of processional crosses: at the centre is a solid rectangle with trefoiled corners. Here is no question of the Little Poor Man, the Lover of the Lady Poverty:

S. Francis figures as Founder and Patron, like the S. Clare at Vich who wears as abbess a baronial crown over her veil. He carries also the Book of the Rule, very beautifully bound: and all this only a hundred and twenty years, at the utmost, after he was buried. It would be hard to find a parallel in Italy. Valencian work in Naples is S. Francis giving the Rule.[9] The S. Nicholas is old and bald, with tufts of hair on his temples, and a short full beard. His right hand rests on the head of a lad who carries a chalice. The tale of the boy and the cup is in the *Golden Legend* but is oftener used in Valencian and Neapolitan painting than in Florentine or Sienese.

S. Francis as Founder

In each wing eight scenes are arranged, two and two. On the one side they are Franciscan, as follows: (1) The vision of S. Francis, Christ calling him; (2) The bishop covers him, the father held back by friends; (3) The dream of Innocent III, S. Francis holding up the Lateran; (4) The Rule is given; (5) S. Francis rapt in ecstacy; (6) Preaching to the birds; (7) The Stigmata given at La Verna; (8)

Death of S. Francis, his disciples and the Pope being present.

Legends

On the other side—the right—the scenes are even more ruinous: (1) Birth of S. Nicholas: the baby stands up in the bath to bless the Lord; (2) His gifts to the Poor Knight's daughters; (3) He saves three soldiers (as I think); (4) He snatches away a lad while at a banquet among the heathen; (5) And gives him to his parents; the poor are feasted; (6) The three small boys pickled in a tub; (7) Guiding a ship in a storm; (8) His death, four angels attendant.

Over the wings are two small gables on each side of a central one: the series reads, S. Catharine, Angel Gabriel, Virgin Enthroned, Virgin Annunciate, and S. Helena. The central figure looks almost like a Lorenzetti: the child is on her knee: the angel wears the dress and wings of a Fra Angelico. The Virgin Annunciate has a chair with an arm adapted for a book-rest, and beside her the basket of wools that was part of a lady's properties ever since Queen Helen ruled in Sparta Town. These upper portions are more strictly

Cf. Palmyra catacomb fresco

Sienese than the narrative scenes: as one comes to them from the work of Joan Figuera and Joan Barcelo, in the outer rooms, they seem purely Italian. Only the closest analysis shows a divergence from the type, and that more in conception than in the forms.

Italian with a difference

Very Italian, also, and quite Sienese, seems an adorable little Virgin and Child, where a bird is perched on the finger of the Holy Child. In the admirable article[10] published by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, that first broke a furrow in this rich field, Dr. Aru speaks of two other trecento pictures at Cagliari: one a Saintly Knight which I cannot in the least recall, and the other, which he publishes, the fragment of a Calvary. It is full of feeling, and of character and individual expression, and I find in my notes that S. John's red curls recall the little angels at Vich; and also that the haloes make an admirable design mounting up toward the Crucified. It belongs to the second half of the fourteenth century, says Aru. The artist was a stranger to Italian soil.

Spano. *Catalogo*, 11

Two names of painters, in this century, the records afford. One is Domenico Pollini of Cagliari who died about 1340 in the Dominican convent at Pisa. He was a miniaturist and glass-painter: "fuit valde graciosus et probus, suavissime conversationis. Cantabat bene, scribebat pulchre, et fenestras vitreas operabatur optime." Considering the many Camaldolese donations and foundations recorded in the annals of Sardinia, and remembering how beautiful was the miniature painting of S. Romuald's grey brethren, one suspects that many good Sard artists *scribebant pulchre:* the singing, however, is an additional grace of Fra Domenico's. Later in the century lived a painter called Fra Giacomo di Lanfranco Guallerotti, who died Bishop of Torres in 1379.

So Spano

Herewith closes the trecento.

The earliest name that can be surely cited in the fifteenth century is that of

Berengar Picalull. He was unfortunately mixed up in that forgery that occurred in the nineteenth century, but Dr. Carlo Aru has recently published the authentic document by which he undertook to paint a banner for the tomb of the Knight Luis Carbonell. It is dated March 10, 1423. The names of painter and defunct are good Catalan both. The latter was a resident of Valencia, his widow's name was Beatrice and his daughters' names Beatrice again and Isabel, and their representative, probably the family chaplain, was Francisco Bosch of Jativa. Quaint reading is the notary's Latin record which has been preserved: Picalull, it appears, was by profession an innkeeper and a painter, and he with everyone else breaks into Catalan whenever direct discourse enters. True, says Picalull, they did bring me an old flag and a *pavesa* from the galley of Mossén Luis Carbonell, and I was to renew them and paint his arms. Well, the King's Painters in Valencia and Barcelona did just such work: Berengar may have been the equal of Martorell and the Serras and the lost

Picalull

L'Arte XXIII, iii

Lorenç Zaragoza. The favourite of Alfonso the Magnanimous, Jacomart Baço himself, did just such pieces.

It is, however, to be feared that George of Cagliari, who in the time of the Judge Turbin of Arborea painted the cathedral of Oristano, was no better than Macpherson's Ossian or Chatterton's monk Rowley. If not he, then another worked there, "for," says Spano, "the cathedral of Oristano had many old pictures, destroyed when the church was reformed. Scattered also were those in the old church of S. Francis there, destroyed twenty-five years ago. To that time may be referred" —the learned canon in the sixties knew less about primitives than we, but he had an eye for painting, and a pretty collection of his own, which was, alas, dispersed at his death—"the pictures of the *tavole* that exist in the fine church of S. Paul of Milis; that on the high altar and that on the left are destroyed by unskilled hands, but that at the right, the Crucifixion, though dry in style is lively in colouring." The fatal restoration was effected in 1503.

Oristano built 1229 by a smith, Placentino

Milis

The style is Catalan to the core: the panel constituted the Calvary that crowns every *retablo mayor* in Spain.

Catalan Calvary

The Saviour is lifted up in the centre of the picture, the two thieves being set at a slight angle and rather lower. The Magdalen kneels at the foot of the cross, the Virgin sinks down, in S. John's arms and those of a holy woman, in the left hand corner. All the right half is occupied by Roman soldiery, who carry on their shields S. P. Q. R., except for a rider on a dark horse, carefully foreshortened, in the extreme corner. The two soldiers, mounted on a black and a white charger respectively, that face each other like heraldic supporters in the Vergós work, are put one behind the other, on the left: the gold ground is admirably barred with lances, banners and pencels. Haloes are worked in relief, in concentric circles, like those of the retable of the Constable. The artist has broken up his traditional composition, learned doubtless at Barcelona, but the art is Catalan. The carving of the frame would indicate the opening of the fifteenth century.

Plate IV

Manner of Borassá

A predella at Cagliari may be referred probably to the first decade of that century, and with certainty to the circle of Luis Borassá. In the five panels appear SS. Anthony Abbot and John Baptist, the dead Christ standing erect among the instruments of the Passion, then two girl saints of whom the last is S. Margaret and the other just such a well-bred, secular, dainty aspect of womanhood as Petronilla at Vich, or Perpetua. The shaggy locks of the Baptist twist like Byzantine work, the beard is thin at the tips, and the camel's hair is spotted over, dark and light, in a convention not unlike the heraldic vair.

The connexion with Barcelona is constant throughout the fifteenth century. Jaime Huguet had sent work over before 1451. In the second third, Valencia is to become more important, but the great Catalan city remains a power and maintains a tradition, as late as the ancona of S. Loy.

(V. p. 89)

Photo. C. Aru

Carnicer Predella

(*V.* p. 92)

Photo. A. R. Giles

Retable of the Pestilence

Joan Figuera

Two men of Barcelona we know living in Cagliari from the early spring of 1455 at least until November of 1456. Dr. Carlo Aru has found and published[11] the contract of Rafael Thomás and Joan Figuera, by which they undertook to paint for the Franciscan convent in Stampace a retable of the blessed Mossén S. Bernardino, according to the form of a pattern on a paper. The guardian of the convent Miguel Guas, and a citizen of Cagliari called Francisco Oliver, were the other party, and the price they contracted to pay was large: two hundred and forty florins of Aragon: one third down, one third when half done, one third a fortnight before completion. There can be no doubt that this is the retable now in Cagliari Museum. In the following July, Figuera sent a power of attorney to a priest of Cervera to act for him in an inheritance from his brother Matthew, deceased; lastly, Thomás, in his partner's name, joins with one Antonio de Badia in giving a release in the case of a runaway apprentice who had stolen, Antonio Ortu by name.

Nearly two years, then, in Cagliari, they lived—how much more there is no guessing. "Ego Johannes Figuera pictor barchinonensis nunc vero moram trahens in Castro Calari": that tells little; except that he was neither citizen nor householder. The two had come, probably, on the Franciscan commission, and went home again.

Retable of S. Bernardino

S. Bernardino had been canonized in 1450: the friars of Stampace were fairly prompt with their altar. The central panel represents probably a tradition of levitation, a bodily uplifting of the saint while in the act of preaching, that cannot be traced in later compilations of his legend. The choice of miracles, likewise, may seem odd to us, chiefly for what is omitted: for instance, S. Vincent Ferrer's recognition and prophecy of his coming glory, or the star's appearing over his head when he preached before Alfonso at Aquila. One scene in the predella is probably Sard in origin, the healing of the boy clawed by a bear.

Plate V

In the centre, as already said, stands the great missioner, preaching; two rose-

crowned angels in deep-red velvet copes, serve as heraldic supporters. At the top of all is found the Calvary, and just below that the scene of the Deposition in the Catalan form—a very early instance, which contributes to the understanding how the theme developed. On the left hand, at the top of the row of narrative scenes, S. Bernardino, preaching in Milan, sees the soul of his sister Tobia passing heavenward: on the right, he crosses the river to Mantua on his cloak, outstripping the churlish boatman. The middle scenes on either hand are vague and hard to identify: the saint restored four different dead men to life, and this on the left shows one of the times; on the right in a church at Massa he is healing, as I understand, the leper who was a Spanish pilgrim and begged to put on the saint's sandals. They can be seen lying on the floor, or so I seem to see them. The lowest miracles are, curing in person the girl at Rieti, and the woman in travail at Bâle, after his death, when the midwife invoked him.

Distribution of scenes

1417

1420

1444

Plate VI

Predella

Six scenes are in the predella, arranged on either side of the central panel that represents the dead Christ upheld by an angel. These are: presenting to pilgrims and the poor the good food and comfits which a Roman lady sent him: restoring the paralytic woman at Spoleto: rescuing a child from a millrace: beyond the Pietà are found, first, a legend from the careless nursemaid cycle—the drowned child, taken out of the pool, vomits up all the water he had swallowed; then the boy clawed by a bear is rescued; lastly S. Bernardino as exorcist, with pilgrims kneeling below his shrine at Aquila. Though this is a famous Catalan theme, I cannot recall an instance so early surviving in the peninsula. It will be found again in the same place under the ancona of Sanluri. On the guarda-polvo were set eight half-lengths of prophets, involved in scrolls, much in the same manner as in the retable of Granollers. But this painting is nearly half a century earlier.

Two masters

Knowing that two painters about equal, apparently, in repute, worked on this

altarpiece, we are tempted to distribute between them the panels rather rashly, reserving for one those in the Catalan tradition of hard-faced power, and assigning to the other those that show so odd a likeness to work done for Philip the Good at precisely the same date. The miniatures which adorn the *Great Chronicles of France*, that M. Reinach saw at Petrograd, are surprisingly like the six side panels here; the six little predella panels of narrative do not fall in with them quite so easily as would have been expected. The central Pietà between them, like the Calvary in the top and the Entombment just below it, are Catalan completely. It must, however, be pointed out—and I owe the reminder to my good friend and colleague George Rowley— that among the primitives it is not uncommon to find the narrative panels in a different style, more nearly approaching to miniature.

Present also in J. Huguet

Mon. Piot XI

We can however say that the head of Habakkuk is painted by the same hand as Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, and the turbaned Jew in the Calvary; that the

Figuera's share

hands of the angels in the central panel resemble those of the holy women above in the Deposition, and that the central head of S. Bernardino, though painted with infinitely more pains and beauty than anything else in the ancona, is quite different in shape and feature from the little figures of the saint of the side panels. We might call the painter, then, of the three most important pieces in the whole, Joan Figuera for convenience' sake. He likes a plain halo, defined by a ring of dots in the upper scenes, and inlays thereon a dark cross of peculiar shape for the Saviour; he sets behind the titular a heavy design in relief, gilt, close, massive and rather incongruous. It is not the free leaf-pattern of the Vergós but a textile motive.

This will be confirmed anon

The Calvary conforms to the simplest type, without thieves or horsemen. In the background is set a walled city, with a superb *beffroi* and a twin-towered church; on the right the three Maries, the Virgin swooning in S. John's arms; on the left a cluster of soldiery and an officer arguing with a brace of scribes-and-Pharisees;

at the extremities, trees in silhouette against the gold sky. In grouping, in detail, in colouring, the maximum of effect is secured from the rigidly restricted material, and the massive cross and heavy head of Christ dominate. In the Entombment the composition is that familiar one which reproduces the so-called S. Sepulchre, figures at head and foot and in a row behind; not the rigid horizontal Christ, head fallen downward, of Manresa and Barcelona. The same silhouettes of trees run out on either hand: seen from far, the symmetrical group is self-explaining and solemn.

S. Sepulchre

The women in the side panels wear their wimples differently, the men wear the thick pleated gown of the *Golden Fleece* frontispiece and other Burgundian MSS. Faces are very long and shapely, noses pointed, eyes wider open, showing often the whole pupil. The carriage of the young men is courtly, with hand on hip or hilt, and slender legs drawn together, best apparent in the left-hand youth in the church scene on the right side. These observations

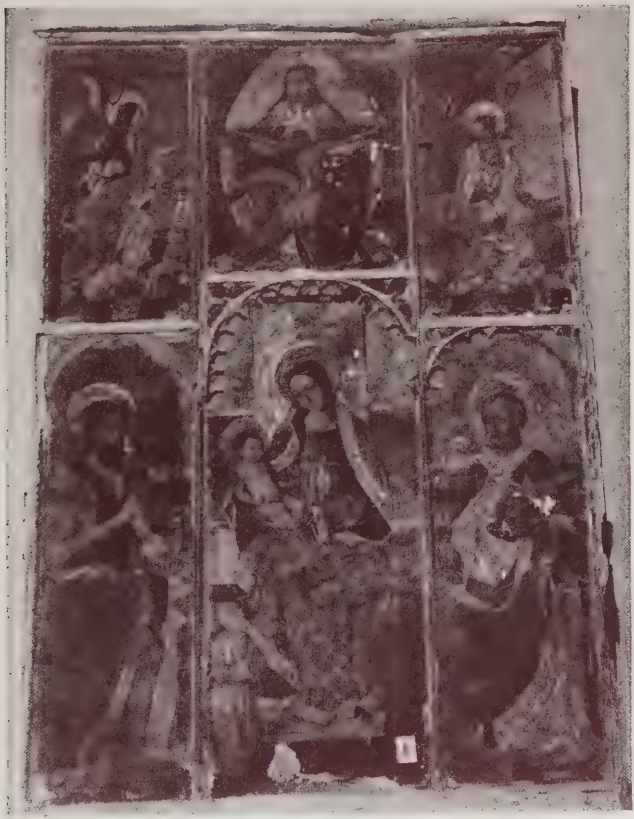
Thomás's share

apply in especial to the secular types, for in the corresponding central panel on the left, S. Bernardino is small enough, and round-headed enough, to be after Sassetta. He occurs thus in the first predella scene. The haloes of these scenes are beautiful and intricate in design, like Sienese or Valencian work, the open windows and door, in the panels just named, are filled by a beautiful free pattern stamped in low relief on the gold. The same existed elsewhere, in this series, but is ruined now. In dramatic grouping, and in plastic balance of masses, this work is very excellent and also very Spanish, precisely anticipating such a retable of saintly stories as that from S. Tomás of Avila now in the Prado. If we call this painter Rafael Thomás, we have a name to set not unworthily beside that of Pedro Berruguete.

1499-1504

Likeness to Huguet

In the predella the same types persist, especially toward the end; the narrative in the earlier scenes is freer and more picturesque, and the kneeling nudes of the first bear some likeness to Huguet's martyrs at Tarrassa. The final panel,



(*V.* p. 100)

Photo. G. G. King

Retable of the Trinity

(*V.* p. 104)

Photo. A. R. Giles

Retable of Tuili

S. Bernardino as exorcist, is the earliest occurrence of a motive to be repeated indefinitely at Barcelona. The central compartment, an open-eyed Christ upheld by an angel, is however by the master whom we venture to call Figuera, but his style here is so altered to suit the close view and more intimate emotion, that one sees how it was possible that he could paint also the central head of S. Bernardino, which resembles this in many ways. Plate VII

To the artist called here Joan Figuera I should like to assign the predella from the church of S. Lucifero, which hangs in the same gallery. The central compartment, a dead Christ upheld by an angel, is by the hand that painted the Entombment, but it is subtler and more skilled; the dreary angel in his white alb is like a forecast of the Virgin of Tuili. All the haloes here are worked with delicate and graceful patterns, but they are not like those of Thomás. Strongly marked types, and reasonably Catalan, are the heads of four elderly saints, SS. Peter and Paul, John Baptist and Anthony Abbot; the S. Figuera's other work

V. Appendix II, p. 204

S. Lucifero

Michael is very like the Pietà angel, but wears a cross on his breast like that of Calatrava and carries lance and scales: his pendant the Red Cross Knight S. George is a fine dry Catalan type. This unsentimentalized soldierly figure, and the Baptist with hands folded in prayer, anxious, dumb and very touching, mark nearly the culmination of Figuera's art; one is left thereafter to wonder why he is not to be recognized and acclaimed in Barcelona. It is possible that he settled on his inheritance in Cervera upon returning, and that all he painted there in his own town was swept away to make room for the eighteenth-century foundation of Philip V.

Plate VIII

A good possibility there is, however, that a fragment of Joan Figuera's later work has escaped destruction and is to be identified in the great fragment of the Cabot collection, "S. George and the Princess." That has been dated, tentatively, *c.* 1460. The head of the saint resembles strikingly in technique and method of approach (though not in what we call a likeness)

Plate IX

the S. George from S. Lucifero. The drawing of the nose, with its view into the nostril, is identical in S. George and the princess, S. Bernardino and the angels. The jewelled ornament of the helmet and the princess's headdress is precisely like that of the apparels of the angels' copes, and the brocade is handled in the same way. Arranging in sequence the Pietà, the predella, and the S. George panel, it is impossible not to perceive the traces of a single hand, and a single imagination. The Cabot S. George

The wings of this S. George triptych were once in D. Pedro Añes' collection at Barcelona, and were carried for sale with other pieces to Berlin: von Loga and then Bertaux recognized the work;[12] the latter assigned it sensibly to the atelier of Jaime Huguet. The donors, a Knight of the Jarra and a Dame of the Pilar, presented respectively by the Baptist and S. Louis of Toulouse, were identified later, ingeniously and conclusively, by Albert van de Put[13] as Juan II de Beaumont, lord of Ortubia, and his wife Luisa de Monreal. Beaumonts were partizans of the Prince of Jarra and Pilar

The Prince of Viana

Viana who was heir-apparent of Aragon: his brother was the Prince's *maestrehostal*, who married Violante of Agramont and the Prince dowered her richly. Remembering the love that the Catalans bore to D. Carlos we may presume that the retable of S. George, the patron of Catalonia and Aragon, was commanded from a Catalan painter before the death of the Prince in 1461. Such a date would suit the probable ages of the persons. On comparing with this Huguet's Tarrassa retable of SS. Abdon and Senen, strictly contemporary, it is apparent that Figuera's genius has more force and more modernity. Beside this triptych the fugitive grace of S. Non y S. Nin, the ceremonial splendour of S. Augustine's consecration, seem tenuous, aloof, and a little unreal. The gesture of the patrons by which each lays a hand on the donor's book, has a finality surprising at the epoch and recalls no antecedent. There was finality and feeling also in the angel's

Frontier of Aragon

gesture in the Cagliari Pietà. S. John's Agnus Dei recalls a little that in the retable of Cubells. Now Cubells, Cervera and

Agramont lie near together, in a corner of Catalonia that borders on Aragon; and the eye, once apprized, can establish some relation, likewise, of the face of the S. Louis, in its lucid clarity, to those Aragonese bishops painted for Dalmacio de Mur.

1431–1456

Huguet is known to have been working from 1448 to 1483, and his contact with Sardinia fell before March of the year 1451, when he gave his brother a power of attorney to collect payment from Gabriel Canilla for work done to order.[14] Figuera was a Barcelonese and probably his elder, who began his career under the same purely Catalan influences and very possibly in the same unknown atelier, but retiring later (it may be) to Cervera, felt the special quality of the Aragonese. In the "invention" of Joan Figuera, if one may speak as of the invention of saintly relics, we have recovered for art the whole of a man; a strong and sensitive genius.

"Invention" of a painter

Tschudi S. Louis

The same effect of pallour and candour as in Bishop Dalmacio de Mur's bishops of Saragossa, a sort of white inward look, appears in a figure of S. Louis of Toulouse reading in a parlour that opens on a deep Gothic loggia. This is certainly Sardinian. It seems that a pair of shutters to a folding triptych "reached Berlin with the Pedro Añes collection," and the one bought by Herr von Tschudi was published by von Loga.[15] The head of S. Ausias on one face, which depicts his meeting with Christ, is homely enough for any provincial art. On the opposite face, S. Louis has the pale clarity of countenance of S. Siffrein in Avignon and S. Louis presenting the Dame of the Pilar. A *manga* is attached to his crozier and the saints on the apparels of his cope stand under domed canopies. This is provincial work of the close of the century. The tiles of the apartment are Valencian-Sard, the fleur-de-lys on his cope are found in the Naples scene of S. Francis giving the Rule and in the wing of Figuera's S. George. The pointed architecture of the loggia, banded pale and dark, would be

hard to find in Spain but is familiar in Sardinia; it is not Limousin but Ligurian, the painting is Limousin absolutely. Only in the island are the two in contact. Limousin and Ligurian

Dr. Aru speaks also of an altarpiece in the church of S. Augustine, which I have not seen, as markedly Spanish in style, and by the sumptuous richness of the stuffs and precious stones, as well as other traits, belonging to the latter age of Jacomart's school. Representing S. Augustine enthroned, it would be well to compare it with that of Huguet in Barcelona—the more desirable because this ancona of S. Bernardino has at moments a look of Huguet. S. Augustine

Another painter who worked in Cagliari for the Franciscans in the third quarter of the quattrocento, was Joan Barcelo.[16] He signed a panel of the Visitation: Joan Barcelo

Johaes Barcelo
me fecit.

Plate X

The Calvary is at the top of this altar-piece and the Visitation below, for here, as in the S. Bernardino, the artist for special reasons has put in the centre a motive usually relegated to the wings, taking care to compose it so firmly and symmetrically that there can be no questioning his intention. On the left side is S. Jerome with his lion, holding a church, and above this the Annunciation; on the right, above, Pentecost, and below, S. Apollonia. The two isolated saints are set against gold backgrounds framed in delicate patterns, after the manner of the Valencian retable of S. Martin, and they stand upon a rich *azulejo* pavement, of tiles interspersed with squares of dark marble. The pavements above are simpler, inlaid in patterns of pale and dark. In the central scenes, and beyond the door and window of the Virgin's chamber, landscape appears, charmingly felt and rendered. A winding road leads back among the hills and upon it may be discovered wayfaring figures, intended, without a doubt, to represent the journey to Bethlehem.

Cf. Huguet, S. Maria del Mar, 1478

S. Martin as Rider, with SS. Ursula, Anthony, 1425 c.

(*V*. p. 105)

Calling of Peter

Photo. A. R. Giles

Tabernacle

recollection, but this has more expression and interest.

Innovations

The ancona must be considered in three parts: (1) the traditional treatment of the two saints against their gold ground; (2) the scenes above, with quaint inventions, like the *alcoba* where the Virgin's bed is to be seen, her prayer-rug and the brass vase—not pottery—that holds the lily, and with deliberate improvements, like opening out the close circle of the Catalan Pentecost, and setting the Virgin there upon a throne; and (3) the modernity (in the painter's estimate) of the landscape, the fancy costumes at the Crucifixion, the large masses of stuff in the Virgin's and the saints' robes. The primary interest is in colour, it is strong and happy and frequently surprising; the secondary is in people as temperamental types, S. Jerome, for instance, or S. Elizabeth, and before all S. Apollonia with her pale reddish hair and serene ugly face, like a sister of Schöngauer's Virgin or the Valencian S. Ursula. The whole is certainly from a single hand, a single psychology: and we

Plate XI

may know that Joan Barcelo was of the land of the Limousin speech. Though he cannot quite control his patterned brocades, and the Virgin's black-and-gold, the red-and-gold of the cloth of honour, tend to rush up, yet the landscape backgrounds, the white mass of the swooning Virgin's immense mantle, are perfectly understood, and so is the rather mannered grace of the S. Elizabeth. The Limousin land

Directly indebted to Barcelo is the painter of a *Presepio* in the same gallery. The swooning Virgin in a white mantle, the Magdalen hurrying to her, the foppish figure opposite, are all directly borrowed and then improved upon. The upper side compartments are filled by single figures, S. Clare on the right, as abbess, a white *manga* on her crozier, S. Catharine opposite wearing a crown and a brocade cloak. These saints sit before a low wall, behind which a landscape stretches that suggests the hills and the bay of Cagliari: a cloth of Carnicer retable

Plate XII

honour is behind, and the pavement is of *azulejos*. So with the standing saints, on a larger scale, below; the *azulejos* are very fine, and some I think are of the same pattern as some of Joan Barcelo's; the cloth of honour is wider, and behind, above a low latticed wainscoting, are gold backgrounds of beautiful design, not precisely identical. The saints are, one, S. Peter, with keys and book and a fine head nearer the S. Mark type except for the whiteness of his beard, and the other S. Anthony Abbot, in white habit and scapular under a black cloak, cross-marked, with staff, bell and hog.

Spanish realism

In the central scene Spanish realism triumphs, in the string of onions hanging on a wall, and the cast shadow of a tool, but it coexists with a naïveté equal to that of votive pictures at a miraculous altar, in the figures of the shepherds and their personal property, gourd and wine-skin, horn-spoon and matting basket, lamb and bag-pipe. Just such were the shepherds who, in the same last decade of the fifteenth century, brought their offerings to the

Plate XIII

palace of the King of Portugal, or to the great hall of the Duke of Alva on the Tormes, while Gil Vicente and Juan del Encina recited the lines they had written for the Christmas midnight, and pages sang such *villancicos* as that long scroll of music to which angels are clinging, at the top of this painting, like woodpeckers to a bough. The shepherds are cross-gartered over their white stockings rolled just below the knee, and bare-legged above; the white sheep scattered over the distant hillside reveal a quaint fidelity of observation, so too the black greyhound in a fur collar: so does the new-born naked child lying on a fold of his mother's long mantle. As composition, the panel is admirable in its irregular symmetry of balance, and so indeed is the whole retable, with its masses converging on an axis struck and held by the pale forms of the Crucified at the top and the dead Christ at the bottom.

Juan del Encina

Those saints established on terraces bounded by a low parapet, are to be found in Aragon, at Saragossa for instance they are a commonplace of religious painting.

Don Dalmacio de Mur's and others

Sard traits developing

The superb standing figures, when they are dislodged from their place here, will reappear on the doors that flank the altar, below the *retablo mayor*, in Barcelona and Saragossa, as at Ardara and Perfugas. The episode of the shepherds is not Flemish nor Burgundian, it is European in its theme, as the Christmas mysteries attest, and Sard-Spanish in its quality. The half-lengths of the predella are nearer to the Catalan tradition, S. James in particular belonging to the type of Pere Serra, where his closest parallels must be sought in a S. Jude at Vich, and a Last Supper at Solsona. He is however thinner and, as one would say, more Spanish-looking than these, the S. Nicholas alongside likewise has diverged from the Vergós type which he recalls: in short, Sardinian art has become a thing in itself, recognizable, like Aragonese or Andalusian. The personages in this row are, S. Andrew; a bishop with black habit over white alb and cope above all, holding a church, probably either S. Lucifero or S. Efesio; S. John Baptist; then the dead Christ

standing upright in the tomb, two small angels holding up a large white winding sheet; S. James with a beautiful book of music that one could sing from; S. Nicholas, and a young princely martyr, exquisitely conceived. This picture comes likewise from S. Francesco in Stampace; it was in the chapel of the Carnicer family and may be called the Carnicer retable. Plate XIV

As the fifteenth century closed and the sixteenth began there was a group of painters, fostered doubtless by the great Franciscan church in Stampace, as earlier groups were fostered by the *chantier* of a cathedral, and a later one attested by the signature which Pietro Cavaro set upon the altarpiece of Villamar. To them no doubt, or to the generation just elder than they, who knew the bottega of Joan Barcelo and inherited the tradition of Thomás and Figuera, must be credited two other fragments of altarpieces in Cagliari Museum; one, only a predella. The dead Christ is upheld, in the centre, by a little worried, crying angel, and the figure of the Saviour is very near to that in the retable of Tuili; Cagliari group

Bernard of Quintavalle?

the others are ten Franciscan martyrs, most of them nowhere else to be met: S. Accursin, S. Peter, S. Ottonus, S. Adiutus, S. Vernardus were all that I could distinguish. The landscape background is careful and various, and the figures show charming alternations of expression and gesture.

Franciscan panels

Here are also two panels from a Franciscan legend—one where the young saint preaches and two bishops in the congregation point him out to one another as a man likely to go far—the theme is similar to S. Vincent Ferrer's recognition of S. Bernardino; and the other the Pope blessing S. Francis and his three companions, with a bishop, three cardinals and a donor looking on. The Spanish quality of characterization, the play of gesture and differentiation of types, is very marked here; the colour is in a warm brownish key like deer-skins and dead leaves: the inventive and imaginative quality is very fresh and precious.

(*V.* p. 115)

Photo. Alinar

Virgin of Castelsardo

(V. p. 120)

By courtesy of the Corporation

Virgin of Birmingham

The painter of the Tuili retable belongs to the Cagliari group; he may himself have been trained under Barcelo. The great polyptych is the last term in a progression which passes from Barcelo's Visitation to the Carnicer *Presepio*, and culminates here; but the Virgin of Tuili is so closely related to that of Castelsardo and another in Birmingham, and with these the Sanluri altarpiece of S. Loy is so involved, that it seems advisable to leave for a while the progress of painting in Cagliari to consider certain provincial paintings that are unmistakably quattrocento. Dr. Aru's characterization of the conditions of the painter's art during the age we have been considering is so vivid that I cannot forbear to quote.

Barcelo's school

Aru on Sard art

> But from the beginning this [Sardinian] school showed a character of its own: the language of the Catalan painters, rich, varied and precise, was translated into the Sard dialect to be understood by the simple islanders; it gave up some of its variety, of its truth, of its precision, to gain grandeur of form and vivacity of

colour. Sardinian painting is essentially decorative painting: and it has to excite aesthetic emotions when the eyes of ignorant men are turned thither. These people ask only to be struck—*spantaus* is the expressive word in dialect—when they look at the altarpiece while saying their prayers. For the eyes of this unlettered folk who are gathered in churches, in front of altars, after a day of toil under a sky always incandescent with sun, who wear on their own persons vivid clothes, rich with gold and scarlet, for these the colours of the paintings must burn like enamels and the gold of the backgrounds must dazzle like the sun.

Struck of a heap in American

The earliest and perhaps the most important of these provincial paintings, which must be dated in the third quarter of the century, hangs in the vestibule of the parish church of Olzai. The picture being apparently composed against the plague, it should be possible, by searching old records, to fix the year of an epidemic which would occasion the commission. The Madonna *lattante* is enthroned between two angels, with lute and recorder: at her

Plate XV

feet are nine flagellants disguised in white hoods and nine or ten women in dark veils. A cloth of honour is behind her, and a brocade mantle on her shoulders. Above is the Calvary: the other scenes are arranged rather practically than logically, putting, for instance, the Ascension at the top on the left, the Epiphany below it, and correspondingly on the right the Nativity and Dormition of the B. V. M. The scene below the last named is S. Sebastian's martyrdom, in which the saint is bound to a flourishing tree, wears a beard and is watched by the tyrant and the holy lady Irene from safe distances, the two executioners with their long-bows making a fine decorative pattern. In correspondence to this, S. Michael weighs out souls, trampling on the devil and transfixing him with a long spear. This motive is not far removed from the seated S. Michael, from Lérida, of Mrs. Gardner's, and one of those in the Lazaro collection; it is a Spanish type. On the right hand of the archangel, here, an angel holds a little soul with enchanting care; on his left, a

Olzai

Transito

A Vírgen nos da Säud

devil tramps off with a basket of souls on his back. Pestilence and sudden death, and who shall help but Our Lady! that is the theme here as in a *Cantiga* of Alfonso the Wise. Two other helpers are invoked in the predella, however, which reads, from the left—S. Peter, S. Pantaleone, N. S. de las Augustias, the dead Christ upheld in the tomb by a mighty angel, S. John the Beloved, S. Anthony Abbot, and S. Paul. Over all, painted on a hexagonal slab tipped forward from the guardapolvo, broods the head of the Ancient of Days with hair and beard white as wool, cross-nimbed, however; and, depending by strings that issue from His mouth, a carved and painted dove. Lastly the sun and moon are painted in the spandrels of the structure, flanking the Calvary, just where Jaime Serra, at Saragossa, hung his spectral head of the apocalyptic Christ.

e tolle mal Cant. xci.

Pendent dove

It should, perhaps, be recalled that the motive of the dead Christ upheld by an angel in the open tomb, which is common to all these retables, and was used to such admirable purpose, in the northeast, by

Bellini and Crivelli, had appeared in Valencia at the opening of the century. It may be seen, very wonderfully conceived, and presented with extraordinary poignancy, in the retable of Porta Coeli, which Bonifazio Ferrer gave to his monastery about the year 1400. Pietà of 1400

What gives to this picture at Olzai an unusual interest, is the surprising and rather touching ugliness of nearly every one's portrait. The work is not unskilled and not in the least, so to speak, illiterate: the artist had worked in Cagliari, as his backgrounds betray. The mountain landscape behind his Calvary is befitting Olzai. The towered city, hill-set, behind his Epiphany is conceived as happily as those of Joan Barcelo; the monastic church, its western tower and convent wall, behind S. Anthony Abbot, are as well thought out as the varied backgrounds in the predella of Franciscan martyrs. Nay more, the handmaidens who attend on S. Anne are like little sisters of Ghirlandajo's Florentines. The young king is a poor relation of Pisanello's foplings. His

Industrial arts

old men are like magians, like the strange figure in the retable of the Parliament of Paris. His use and choice of detail is charming, and so is the craftsmanship, in the finely wrought censer, for instance, swung so delicately on intricate chains over the death-bed of the Virgin, in the caudle-cup with its tripod for keeping it warm in the ashes of S. Anna's birth-chamber, in the book-binding he does for S. Peter, S. Pantaleone, and S. Anthony. His conceptions are rare and noble: in the Ascension, for instance, that of a solemn Christ, in a great rainbow glory—robed, blessing, bearing the orb, cross-crowned, while the ranks of the disciples draw back in a sort of fearless awe: it is almost an apocalypse. Madonnas and angels are all rather hard-favoured: like the Evangelist, they are sensitive and ugly. The impression of the whole is. as already said,

What hand and brain?

touching, very serious—"What hand and brain went ever paired?" is the reflexion. For whereas in contemporary Italy, by this date, the painter's power of expression too often outran what he had to say, the

same half-sigh is evoked by plenty of Spanish pictures hidden in remote churches.

Saccargia

At Saccargia are preserved, besides a beautiful ancona in the south apse, three fragments belonging to a late quattrocento altarpiece: a long strip which served as predella, painted with half-length figures of Christ and the apostles, and two upright pieces which contain, each, a pair of scenes, one over the other, and a portion of the guardapolvo decorated with a lettered scroll, a small S. Gavino de Torres at the bottom of one compartment, two saintly horsemen at corresponding points, stars, crosses, and the like. It is probable that the centre of the retable was either a carved panel, or more likely a deep recess to receive an image. Over the high altar at present is a carved and coloured statue of the Virgin, but she is younger than this shrine. There may however have been a painting of the B. V. M., or of some scene, with a Calvary over all, for this form of

Fragments

composition endured through half the cinquecento.

Predella

The head of the Saviour, like the girl-faced disciple next him, is rather sweetish, but His brocaded mantle, orb, and gesture of blessing, have dignity and beauty. S. Peter on His left keeps in the Catalan tradition, both as to cranial formation, and as to the size and shape of the key which he carries like a bâton. The figures are grouped in triads, with the same intention of dramatic relation between them as Master Matthew's in the portico at Santiago: it is customary in Spanish primitives, and there also the half-length figures are found, for instance in the school of Salamanca. This is cinquecento painting.

Side panels

But the other two portions are earlier in style. In the Annunciation, the tiled floor stretches back to a low parapet and a landscape beyond, but all behind the Virgin is dark. Whether this was a house-wall or a cloth of honour, it is impossible to guess. The tall kneeling angel carries a lily and lifts the right hand in admoni-

V. p. 123)

Photo. Mas

S. Martin: Segorbe

(*V.* p. 125)

Photo. Alinari

S. Loy, from Sanluri

tion, he wears a rich dark cope: the Virgin, in a brocaded mantle, is seen almost full-face, and lifts both hands with the odd, symmetrical gesture, like a pair of fluttering birds, that Catalan art had learned in the East. To this the Epiphany corresponds, in which the fair white hands are folded upward, and the mantle is surprisingly ample; one fold being drawn across the knees to show the fine pattern, and another disposed on the ground to make a bed for the Holy Child. In these compartments, and indeed in those below also, the gold design that runs hither and thither across the field, formed by the rich apparels and borders of the vesture, is of primary importance and great splendour.

Very Catalan

Beneath the Annunciation is a group of the Baptist between two bishops; and on the other side, S. Catharine and the Magdalen, S. Nicholas, and S. Protus in red with a book. The pattern of the brocade is again used for an object of beauty in itself, as Vergós used it in painting the princess at S. Stephen's shrine. Indeed, for three quarters of a

Groups of saints as in Aragon

century at least the progress of painting in Sardinia has been following a development parallel with the Catalan, and while the types selected are unlike, the impulses are almost identical.

Retable of the Trinity

The other altarpiece has been put together, in six compartments, and erected where it is safe, but of the frame only the fringe of cusping on two panels survives. A Trinity is composed of the Eternal, brown-bearded, with cross-marked nimbus, vested in a rich cope, who holds up the Saviour on the Cross, a Dove, wide spread, issuant from the head of the cross.

Plate XVI

The Angel and the Virgin Annunciate flank it on either side. Below, the Baptist and S. Peter occupy the side panels, and a seated Virgin, ugly and pensive, holds softly a naked Child, two donors kneeling in the corners, one as a hooded penitent, the other dressed in brown, but quite ruined. Catalan-Sard the art is, and the Virgin's face seems very close to

that of Castelsardo, once perhaps at Ampurias on the north coast. The haloes are modelled in concentric rings, the *azulejo* pavements under S. Peter's feet and in the chamber above, are of very good and choice tiles: and the latter has a cassone ceiling, pleasant to observe. It is a quattrocento style of the best the island can show: in its rather austere simplicity, in the interest of the heads, in the pattern of brocades and borders playing across the dark field everywhere, it is very satisfying. Minor work, not undistinguished, sober, sympathetic, and decorative: when this is said the strength of one's impression is not yet explained. Over it broods the spiritual virtue which is called recollection. It were a picture for one's oratory, or for the foot of one's bed.

Related to Castelsardo

Recollection

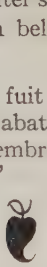
Apart from fragments in the Museum, this is the last quattrocento picture I can cite with certainty.

Saccargia supplies, however, one of those cases which rack the mind and conscience of the connoisseur, a conjunction of painting and date both authentic and incom-

1465

patible. Says Canon Spano, "On the high-altarpiece [now lost] and that of the left-hand altar, the painter's name is not given, but this inscription belongs to the epoch of the painting:

Hoc opus factum fuit tp̄ore
Dn̄i Jacob. Leda abatis monasterii die VII novembris MCCCCLXV nativitatis Don̄i"



At Cagliari

Cagliari had long been the capital of the island, the seat of the Governor-General, and the chief point of contact with Naples and Sicily as well as Spain. The painters of Stampace were proud to sign themselves such: on the retable of Gonnostramatza, Lorenzo Cavaro in 1501 stated the fact, precisely as the year before he was named in a document, as *pictor habitans ville Stampacis;* Pietro Cavaro signed the retable of Villamar as *pictorum minimus Stampacis;* as late as 1561 a sentence was recorded *contra Michaelem Toco pictorem Stampacis.*

How large was this flourishing group we have no way to know, but it was only half of what Sardinia could produce and rear. Alongside of the "painters of Stampace" lived and worked another school, sprung most probably from the bottega of Joan Barcelo, and refreshed and vivified by constant intercourse with Spain. The importance of these nameless masters is most forcibly shown by what I am about to say. Within a single decade (to all appearance) were produced at least three splendid altarpieces which have survived to the present day, by three several masters, which, allowing sufficiently for loss and dispersion in the neglected island during four centuries and a quarter, indicates in itself a high level of production and excellence both. These three pictures —no two, as I see it, by the same hand— are the Virgins of Tuili, Birmingham, and Castelsardo. We shall find that the altarpiece of Sanluri belongs to the same epoch: that will make four. Meanwhile Pietro Cavaro and his kinsmen and competitors were following another line of

The Virgins' painters

Four masters at lowest reckoning

The three Virgins

advance, imitating Italy whenever they got a glimpse. The Virgins' painters, as I said, looked instead to Spain.

Retable of Tuili

When considering the Visitation altar-piece it was determined that the painter's great interest lay in landscape and colour: the possible pupil of Barcelo's who painted

Plate XVII

the retable of Tuili carries landscape to an exquisite pitch, composes his little predella scenes with an admirable command of depth, alike in depicting a city street or an estuary mountain-girt; and arranges large quiet masses of drapery that shall show off pure colour to the utmost ad-

Colour

vantage. SS. Peter and Paul are set in front of low parapets constructed with the same lattice-pattern of greenish tiles, that an elder fellow-pupil had painted, in a pinkish tone, behind SS. Clare and Catharine. For the Pietà in the midst of the predella is substituted a true *sagrario* (or tabernacle for the reservation of the Sacred Elements) where the theme of the front panel is the Blood of the Redeemer. The plan of the entire ancona is as follows: Centre: Virgin enthroned, holding the

Child, who holds a bird; above this, Calvary, with romantic background. Left: S. Peter on a terrace, before a cloth of honour, landscape behind; above, S. Michael fighting the devil. Right: S. Paul, with terrace, cloth of honour, and landscape, including a date-palm; above, S. James as pilgrim, in landscape. Predella, from the left: Delivery of the keys; fall of Simon Magus; tabernacle in three panels, viz. a Mass of S. Gregory with a bishop and a cardinal looking on, a Risen Christ, and a figure of S. Clement pope; then S. Peter walking on the sea, and his crucifixion. In the guardapolvo are, left, SS. Gregory, Ambrose, and John Evangelist; to these correspond on the right SS. Jerome, Augustine and Mark; above the side panels SS. Luke and Matthew, flanking the pinnacles SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua; at the centre top S. Gabriel, the Eternal and the Virgin Annunciate, the dove flying from His mouth to her ear. Around and above the predella the delicate cusps and late gothic panelling have been preserved, like the

Virgin of Tuili

Plate XVIII

Cf. Huguet's plan for Ripoll

This is dogmatic

pinnacles of the four delicately moulded mullions that bound the panels.

Artistic lineage

On the relation of this to the Carnicer retable and that of the Visitation before it, there is no need to insist. It is manifest: Joan Barcelo's pair of saints, standing on an *azulejo* pavement, against a cloth of honour, still stand just so, but the gold ground was replaced, tentatively, in the upper panels, which are less important, by the Carnicer's painter, whose happy idea is brought down now into the lower range, and in the upper the terrace, the pavement, the parapet are done away

Where *sagrario* there risen Saviour

The standing Christ, outlined against a winding-sheet, in the Carnicer picture, anticipates the living Christ in that of Tuili.

Undeniably the landscape by now has a van-Eyckian ambience, particularly in the lower pair of panels, and the scene on the lake may recall Dirk Bouts's panel at Munich; but on the other hand, the rock-formations in the upper pair are an Umbrian convention. Not even such a hyphenated paternity as the *Hispano-*

(*V.* p. 125) *Photo. Alinari*

SS. Sebastian and Fabian, from Sanluri Retable

(*V.* p. 126)

Photo. Alinari

S. Loy as Goldsmith

Flamenco, which Sr. Tormo selects for Jacomart, will fit this art. The tiles, the brocades, the jewellery and the physical types are all Catalan-Sard, the isolated S. Peter being still identical, in pose, in cranium and in expression, with the old Barcelona-Vich model.

Brocades rather Eastern than Northern

It has been ingeniously suggested that the Virgin looks as though she suffered from malaria: this is more than half true, for here as elsewhere the rule obtains that the holier the person, the harder-favoured, and the *maladive* air of the Virgin, gaunt, flat-chested, big-eyed as she is, sets her apart as the advocate of poor people in a hard country. Though my note-book admits that this is a coarse and provincial art, laborious and unimaginative, my recollection would say that it is touching with *el sabor de la tierruca*.

Plate XIX

El sabor de la tierruca

It is the special glory of Sardinia in all the arts, in the intricate and beautiful crafts, in folk-lore, in history even, to have been always so much like itself—never more than in the retable of Tuili. Once granted this, once ready to be satisfied

True to itself

with strong and well-disposed colour, with a dramatic gift of narrative than which none exists more picturesque, with a romantic turn for landscape, with suggestion, feeling, naïf eagerness, and with an individuality that has assimilated all the elements however alien or exotic, in a recognized tradition—this attitude once taken up, one is entirely pleased.

S. Michael the dragon-killer

Not out of place, here, will be a memorandum on the figure of S. Michael the dragon-slayer. As seen in this painting at Cagliari, or in the Wernher panel signed by Bartolomé Bermejo, or in the museums of Naples and Avignon, or in the collections of Mrs. Gardner and D. José Lazaro, in the retable of the Poor Clares at Vich painted by Borassá, or that at Daroca probably the work of Lorenç Zaragoza, in the ancona by Pietro Cavaro from Villamar which stands back to back with this from Tuili in the hall adjacent—here and elsewhere a certain and fixed conception of the warrior

archangel is manifested. It reappears all over Catalonia: that of S. Miguel de Cruillas, and a retable composed against pestilence, now in the Casas collection, are two very regional and delightful instances that lie right at hand. This figure, with its characteristic posture of body—the dancing pose would be perhaps the readiest way to describe it—is found occasionally in southern Italy and France and often in eastern Spain. The source seems to be Spanish to judge from the very great number of examples, and the tenacious roots that the theme has struck into the soil. I do not understand that any such figure was venerated at Mont Saint Michel, or in Navarre, or in Cornwall. There is indeed another aspect of the great archangel in which he is only distinguishable by his attributes from Gabriel or Raphael: thus he is presented in Florentine and Umbrian art;[17] thus he stands at rest on one panel of the Lazaro collection, and weighs the souls on the Manresa retable of S. Nicholas; but the splendid figure I have indicated is never at rest. He is a

Spanish source

A bird of God

bird of God that has just alighted and has not yet folded his wings; or his wings and cloak are yet beating in the air as he flashes down with the pounce of a great hawk. Plastically, the form is to be identified by the importance of wings and cloak, and by the asymmetrical balance; imaginatively, by swiftness, strength of gesture, and militancy. At times the type is modified or partly lost: the Lazaro S. Michael has no wings, but the downward thrust and the great cloak are there. The Gardner S. Michael sits enthroned, but with still a dancing silhouette. At times a reminiscence of the type may be found modifying another invention, in the long lance of the triptych of Beaune, painted by one who had been in Naples. Even in the Neapolitan painting of S. Michael with S. Jerome and the B. James Capistrano, the dancing step, the bird-wings, and the long gesture of the sword betray the source of the motive. The perfection of it, of course, is the Wernher panel.

I am disposed to suspect that a panel in Naples Museum in which the figure is

wingless and may turn out to represent S. George, is a Sard painting. It was bought from a private owner, in 1898, and nothing is really known about it: the name and number are set down here to prompt inquiry.

No. 320 Sard?

Flemings

Flemings there were to see and convey this motive, of course, at Avignon, at Naples, at Barcelona. The adventures of Master Roger on his journey in Italy, the travels of Jan van Eyck, on his embassies through Spain and Portugal, were apter to lend new motives and new forms to the north than to impose them on the south: even that Giovanni di Giusto whom Alfonso the Magnanimous sent to study at Bruges, could relate as well as learn. Flemish paintings there were in the cabinet of the King, and *Joannes Gallicus* and *Rogerius Gallicus* were known by name. Their works were prized in Naples: but En Jacomart Baço of Valencia was known and prized no less,

An earlier mission to Valencia?

Jacomart

and fetched to Naples in 1442 and confirmed as chamber painter in 1456.

Alfonso the Magnanimous

In Cagliari between 1442 and 1458 there must have been a fair acquaintance with Naples, for the King himself was resident in Naples a large part of the time. Politically the island was still bound up with the Spains but socially Naples was nearer. The interregnum there, when Charles VIII was trying to repeat the exploit of earlier Angevine invaders, may have driven a few painters to the island, but it is doubtful: they probably felt, like modern Italians, that any residence, any fate, was better than going thither. Thenceforward the island lived in close relation with the seat of government which was Spain. No other country save Sicily in Manno's narrative is discernible on the horizon, till Charles V arrives. The days of the Magnanimous did not return.

These however had ended nearly half a century before the master was working on the Virgin of Tuili, and in that half-century more knowledge of Italy and Spain had been reached in the north than yet we wot

of, and northern art had exercised its influence, at second and third hand perhaps, in Cagliari, and been merged in the single tradition that emanated from the bottega of Joan Barcelo.

Northern influence remote

Of the Madonna of Castelsardo it is customary to relate that she was taken thither when the see was removed from Ampurias. So, for instance, says Professor Brunelli, whose vivacity and enthusiasm, with his wide reading, make all that he writes suggestive and stimulating. But in truth there is no evidence for this. The panel over the high altar, in the cathedral of what was then Castelaragonese, is from the centre of a ruined retable: in one of the nave chapels is preserved another panel, with S. Michael. In this the arms of the donor may be made out, two *calderas*. Unluckily these baskets from which issue serpents' heads, which are called *caldera* in Spanish heraldry, are a very common armorial bearing, and search

Virgin of Castelsardo

1503?

Calderas of Spanish nobility

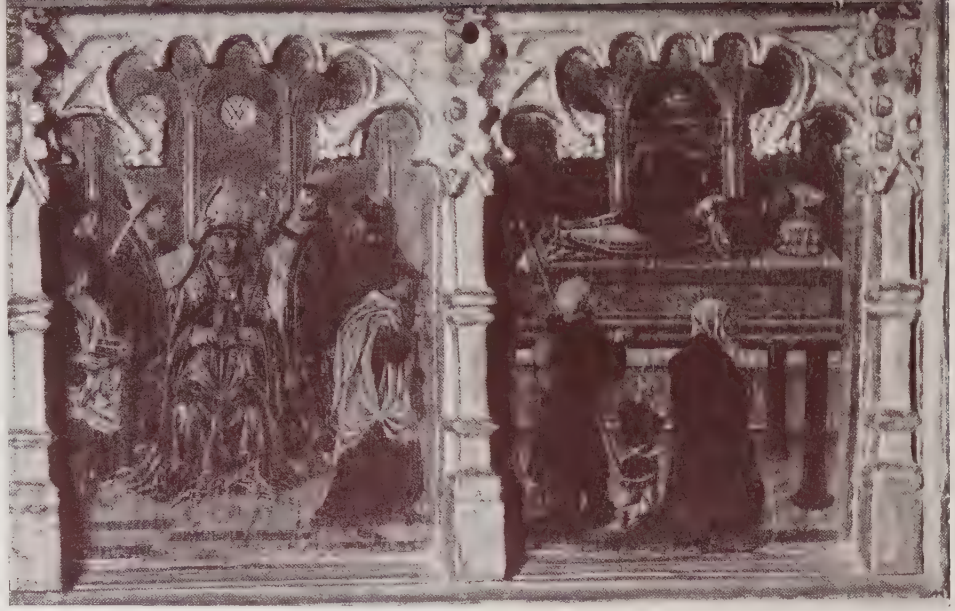
through Argote de Molina's *Nobleza de 'ndalucia* cannot identify any single family or person to whom by presumption they could be assigned.

It was in the year 1503 that the dioceses of Sardinia were reduced in number by the union of two or more sees. Then Dolianova was united to Cagliari, Ottana and Bisarcio to Alghero, Ampurias to Castelaragonese. There is a fair presumption that a great altarpiece, like what this once was, might be ordered to celebrate the installation.

Fragments are preserved in the sacristy there: two pieces of the predella: figures of saints and a Trinity, daubed over now with paint. The technique of the nude in the figure of the dead Christ, is very like that of the Tuili altarpiece: it is what was taught in that bottega at that age.

Cf. Saccargia

The Eternal sits on the rainbow, surrounded by the tetramorph, and in the mandorla are cherubim: a little angel on the left resembles those of the central panel. Inside this angel frame a glory is worked in relief, in rays interspersed with



(*V.* p. 126)

Photo. C. Aru

S. Loy Enthroned

S. Loy as Exorcist

(*V.* p. 128)

Photo. G. G King

Virgin and Bishop, Dolianova

a few zigzags, and the whole background is of the familiar stamped scrollwork now painted white.

The S. Michael, though restored, is very fine. His wings are of gold feathers, like the bird of the Psalmist's ecstacy. His armour heightened with gold and his greaves of silver, with red shoes, his great mantle lined from the same piece of stuff as the Virgin's dress—all these splendours mark him the Prince of the hosts of God. The lifted sword cuts across the design: behind his head and his great crossing wings are crosses on the background. The hair is rich and thickly tressed, the face very beautiful. On the border of the shield are what seem to be letters but they do not make words: we are still left without a date or a donor's name.

Pennae deargentatae et . . . in pallore auri

The Virgin herself is much more beautiful than that of Tuili, she is a careworn princess. The whole art of the painter is less hard, less ugly, less a plain folk's art: it is rich and splendid. It is customary to say that the two altarpieces are from the same hand. This

Plate XX

is impossible, though they came from the same bottega.

Morellian method

The impossibility may be demonstrated at the outset. If there is the least truth in the Morellian method, then the place where a painter would repeat himself, automatically, unconsciously, would be in the significant detail of the hands of music-making angels. Laying Dr. Aru's excellent picture beside that published by Alinari, it is easy to see that these differ in every case. The Tuili painter bends knuckles sharply—but the reader has only to compare. The tambourine is inverted; the guitar player is thrumming at Castelsardo and seems in the other to be playing with a metal point.

Conventions of anatomy

Certain technical details in the rendering of anatomy were common property in the bottega, to be modified only in very special cases. The muscles of the throat come down in two lines that make a V, the chin is rounded like a tiny apple, so are the kneecaps in the nude, with a crescent reduplication of the form below. The lower edge of the sternum and the

attachment of the ribs in a double row below, is depicted in a salient series like beans in a pod. All these traits—easy to see and hard to tell—are manifest in the nudes of the Tuili ancona, but there the master turned his Virgin's head and softened the lines of her throat.

Frontal pose hieratic and noble

The Castelsardo Virgin holds a rose, the Child has a bird and wears a little shirt and a broad red waist-band. The Madonna's robe is pinkish yellow, her mantle of gold brocade lined with green; these colours are rather different from those at Cagliari, and so is the pale golden olive tint of her face, and her pale brown hair, slightly tressed about the face. The stamped gold background is rich and graceful in its wreathing. The upshot of all this is that the painter, a little more archaic, had a keener sense for formal beauty, and mingled subtleties with splendours in his colouring.

Virgin of Birmingham

The third Virgin is one in the Birmingham Corporation gallery, proceeding from the same bottega as the others and painted very shortly after them. It represents a Madonna enthroned, with angels crowning her and the Child blessing. Three angels on the canopy make music and two more hold up the cloth of honour: in the foreground are half-lengths of a man and woman. Brunelli cites,[18] very apropos, a passage from the *Guide to Cagliari* which Spano wrote in 1861, describing an old picture in the church of S. Rosalia; though in truth the donors are not so rare in Sardinian painting as he thinks, for I have the photograph of a Madonna of Monserrat with similar busts, and I recall that the Three Saints of Torres, in Sassari, had once such a one. These are very common in contemporary Spanish work.

More likely from Oristano

At Oliena

The mere likeness of theme proves nothing about these Virgins, for the Madonna with music-making angels was a commonplace of Catalan painting. At Vich and Valencia there are charming early compositions, low-arched; and the retable from

the Casas collection, already cited, affords a quaint variant of these: in Tortosa there was also a lovely virgin ascribed to Pere Serra, in which the angels stand four on each side, and the Holy Child holds His bird, which might have been a starting-point for Sards. A crowned Virgin and donor, with angels leaning in over the arms of the throne, from the Peñasco collection, is really not so like, except for the shape of the throne.

The Poor Clares have sold it

Now, in considering the points of likeness among the three, the three angels who sit up aloft, at Castelsardo and Birmingham, must be counted together, and the late Gothic tracery of discs and panelling at the top of the throne, in the former, reckoned with the carved tracery on the front of the seat and back and dais of the throne, in the latter. In the Castelsardo retable six angels stand about. In the Tuili retable, four stand making music and two more balance themselves in the air to hold up a crown above the halo. In the Birmingham retable these two are flying more easily, and the one seen in profile has the

hard features of the other pieces; two more are also hanging in the air above, adjusting the cloth of honour. Their faces, and one below them, are meant for a longer, more Flemish type, much prettier; but indeed the intention here is derived from one in the Tuili pair. *Putti*, seated on the arms of the throne, seem intended as carvings. On the gold ground the pattern has almost disappeared. The type of the Child is more engaging and the head of the Madonna more modern, with a softer surface of flesh. The picture seems, from the photograph, altogether happy and lovely, archaic enough for reticence, yet neither hieratic nor hard-featured, but spontaneous.

Cf. Bertaux on Aragonese trait

Plate XXI

Retable of Sanluri

The ancona of Sanluri was planned like the other retables, with S. Loy as the central figure, S. Leonard and S. Andrew flanking it: the upper panels are too ruinous even to guess their subject. For many years it represented the titular saint

of S. Pietro in Sanluri, till an ingenious enthusiast washed off the saint's beard, and the keys from the steps of his throne,

S. Leonard

There was a convent of S. Leonard in Cagliari, and indeed the redemption of captives will have lain very near to the heart of islanders: in 1535 Charles V found in Tunis, to release from slavery, of Sards alone 1119. With fetter-lock and chain, the saint sits on a long bench that cuts across the entire panel, as the parapet of the terrace had cut in two the background for S. Clare and S. Peter. He carries, besides a palm, a book of rich miniatures. It is hard to know why S. Andrew was set here—the apostle of the island being, by tradition, S. Bartholomew—but he is unmistakable, with his cross of tree, with green tunic, red book and yellow mantle. On the wainscoting is depicted the story of Orpheus with his lute, the classical poet being arrayed after the antique in the skin-tight vest and fringes of a Roman soldier: the lion opens his mouth and sings. On the other side, behind a bishop, the wainscot seems to

"Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of the Man-eaters"

present a triumph of Amphitrite, her car drawn by a marine goddess with a horse's forelegs and a plume on her head.

Cult figure more archaic

The figure of S. Loy is more archaic in semblance and treatment than the others, but the style of brocades, of goldsmith's work, and of faces is identical. The pattern on the border of a saintly bishop's mantle repeats that on the consoles of S. Loy's throne, and on what remains of his mitre the same hand has laboured that designed S. Loy's crozier. The drapery and the backgrounds in the side panels are modernizing, so to speak.

Bishop at Naples

The same is true of a polyptych at Naples, in the church of SS. Severino e Sosio, which Sr. Tormo considers as the work of Francesco Pagano, who went over to work at Valencia in 1472. In the centre below sits a bishop enthroned, blessing, with his cope drawn across his knees so as to show a complete pattern of the magnificent brocade, precisely as Vergós arranged the mantle of his princess at Granollers. Two little winged *putti* are embracing the columns which go up from the arms of the throne,

as two *putti* with garlands crown pilasters in a similar arrangement at Cagliari. The remainder of this picture must be considered later. The point is here that the bishop enthroned in his magnificent brocade is a type which seems to have originated with Jacomart,[19] at Jativa on the Valencian coast.

Jacomart's at Segorbe, Plate XXII

With Jacomart's figures must be included two bishops enthroned which are now neglected and all but unknown in Valladolid Museum, but which are very beautiful. They may be fragments from a single altarpiece like that at Jativa with SS. Augustine and Ildefonso. One is S. Athanasius, and a seaport is depicted in the background. The other is S. Louis of Toulouse, his crown at his feet: an ecclesiastic with praying hands appears at the left behind. The little city beyond is not in the least Flemish. The goldsmith's work of the croziers is not precisely like that of Jacomart's bishops and S. Loy,

Bishops at Valladolid

Sea-born

being less florid: the woodwork of their chairs is plainer and unlike: the colouring of these pictures is very fresh and airy, with clear blues, and pleasant lights, and large quiet spaces of drapery. They cannot be assigned to any known painter of Valencia, yet they belong within this current in which our study is slowly circling.

Sanluri had its own connexion with Jativa, and may well have fetched a painter thence in the latter quattrocento. After the battle of Macomer, in 1478, the Marquis of Oristano was captured while escaping from Bosa by sea and with the Viscount of Sanluri was kept a close prisoner in the castle of Jativa. There he and the Viscount both died in 1479. What memorial provision was made at Sanluri in the way of a tomb, an altar, or a church, I cannot know, but it is significant at least that Jativa and Sanluri are found in conjunction.[20] A pupil of Jacomart's who should carry to Sanluri the motive which

he had seen realized for canons at home and for nuns at Segorbe, would transmit it to his pupil in Cagliari later on, and account for this figure.

The young ecclesiastic's figure, with its troubled beauty, has a touch of that hardness which is never very far from any Sardinian painting: the passion for beautiful things which has appeared without interval ever since the polyptych of Ottana, has free play here, in the furniture, in the jewellery, in the exquisite tiles, in the gracious semblance of the whole. Still quattrocento art, whatever the actual date, it reveals a sort of sobriety and spiritual restraint in the midst of the conscious charm.

Plate XXIII

Still quattrocento

The figures in the guardapolvo that represent SS. Sebastian and Julian, were beyond question repainted in the year that Charles V's soldiery brought the plague, and it was checked on the feast of those saints—in 1529. The thought which gives us pause, is how many years must have elapsed to come to these figures from that in the predella picture of S. Loy as goldsmith.

Plate XXIV

Julian, the Harbourer, Jan. 27, supplants Fabian

Plates XXV and XXVI

The six scenes from the saint's life, in the predella, with a central Pietà, are more Catalan than the rest, especially the last two, of S. Loy enthroned as bishop and the miracles at his shrine. The Vergós family were painting exactly that way in Barcelona, and this painter knew their work. In the beginning, before the birth of Eligius, his mother dreamed of an eagle; as a youth he worked at the goldsmith's craft, and the objects pictured in his bottega are so choice that, taken in conjunction with the things in the central panel, one would like to believe that this is a guild-picture. In the next picture he is presented to the good King Dagobert; he distributes alms to the poor and lame, and then after consecration as bishop he is laid up on a shrine to which pilgrims come.

Silversmiths at Barcelona have a XVI century S. Loy

Pietà Plate XXX

The central scene of the Pietà is a final development of Joan Figuera's motive. The naked Christ, with open eyes, sits on the edge of the open tomb, throwing off His shroud; three angels, who support Him, are variously moved by pity and

grief. The pattern of wings and heads here against the gold ground is exceedingly fine. It should be said that the anatomy of the nude is not related to that in the ancona of Tuili: this painting follows another line of descent, coming down from Thomás and Figuera, and was renewed by contact with Spain more than once, as it seems. Pure design

Its place is a little apart from any other Sardinian painting, for the degree of loveliness and charm that is attained—unless, indeed, the two Valladolid panels could be recognized as belonging, perhaps, to S. Francisco in Stampace, and this Dr. Aru does not countenance. Three such pictures would be enough to show a third *foyer* in the city, where sheer beauty was prized above rubies.

At Dolianova, in the hills northeast of Cagliari, exist the remains of a retable dedicated to S. Pantaleone, the titular of the church. The bishop who kneels at the feet of the Holy Child enables us to Dolianova

Plate XXVII

fix the date of the painting before 1503, for in that year the see was merged in that of Cagliari. The Babe, stark naked except for a coral hung round his neck, holds in one hand a spoon and in the other a frying pan, but His eyes are fixed on three tiny angels, like jointed dolls, huddled in the right-hand front corner with a scroll of the Te Deum. The Virgin, sitting on a pair of cushions, turns her eyes away from her book to watch Him: a lily in a fine jar completes the composition. In the cloth of honour, the pattern of the brocade is novel; though altered to afford a frame for her head and shoulders, the style of the design is earlier, more fifteenth-century.

Plate XXVIII

Such still shown in Sultan's palaces

On the panel which corresponds to this S. Pantaleone stands against the same brocade dressed like a well-born civilian and holding what looks like an artist's colour-box: it is the physician's drug-case. At his feet on the right is the cripple, in a little cart, who affords his most famous miracle: on the left, a donor and his wife, he with thick heavy hair and a sharply projecting beard, like King Thrushbeard

in the fairy tale. The description, thus far, might let you think new elements were here, a Flemish Virgin motive, little angels like Crivelli's in his apprenticeship. But panels of the legend of the saint are derived, one could almost say, from S. Vincent of Sarría: the tell-tale composition goes back to Barcelona where someone sometime had been. The painter knows Catalan work at second and third hand, and follows it, with modifications of his own. Four panels from the legend still hang in the church, and keep their low round arch, with pendent cusping trilobate, and a trefoiled tracery in the shallow spandrels above, but of the Calvary which was once atop, and of the predella, nothing could be heard. These scenes, like the retable of Sarría by Vergós already invoked for comparison, are principally preoccupied with martyrdom: in one the young saint, being then about fifteen, goes his way in the midst of a crowd, soldiers before, great folk after him, and comes upon a dead child and the viper that was his death: the child and viper, by his intercession,

A Catalan style

Episodes of martyrdom

exchange estates. Overhead in a circular glory is a half-length deity, who holds a scroll now indecipherable, and who reappears in every scene. In another the protagonist is bound on a S. Andrew's cross, and two executioners are torturing him; the military with their serried pikes, Maximian in triple tiara, still massed on either side; again all are massed on the right except two tall men in armour, and a millstone hangs about the neck of the central figure. Lastly, he kneels on a little mound, bound against an olive tree like the S. Sebastian of Olzai, and two angels carry up his soul—a tiny image trailing off into a long tail of white vapour, toward the Eternal who now appears in the globe of light. In the other three cases this celestial figure is young and beardless, but wears a cross-marked nimbus. The general monotony of subject—central figure between two groups, rows of pikes, ball of light and zigzag scroll—permits of a very fine decorative effect, with the dark richly-coloured masses, the pale sky as constant and the parallel lines and roundel

(*V.* p. 128)

Photo. G. G. King

S. Pantaleone and Donors, Dolianova

(*V.* p. 134)

Photo. G. G. King

Dead Christ, by Joan Muru

shifted about to vary the pattern just sufficiently. In the background of the millstone episode a bay, among mountains, and a city that lifts its towers against the sky, is recognizable for the Bay of Cagliari, portrayed here as Ribera painted the Bay of Naples in his superb S. Januarius.

Augustinian church, Salamanca

An ugly and peasant art is this again, the long-haired Virgin and her Son are like wooden carvings, but the interest is real and keen, the knowledge of contemporary work is amazing, and the sheer decorative beauty is immense. As the swimming roundels in the sky recall Burne-Jones's device in the Days of Creation, so the tree patterned out, leaf by leaf, is like a design of Morris's.

Decorative

After this retable of Dolianova we may say, if we like, that the Quattrocento is ended. Thereafter Italian influence is plainly to be seen, that of Raphael sometimes, and sometimes that of Pintoricchio. Sardinian painting however is by now

so individual, that it keeps its traits, its conventions, its attitude. The ancona of Ardara is crowned with Spanish armouries, is crowded with Spanish saints, and is so near to that of Tuili and that of Villamar that any line which can be drawn remains perceptibly artificial.

Quattrocento defined

It is possible, however, as we leave them, to name those qualities by virtue of which we call a picture quattrocento even when, like that of Castelsardo, it was probably painted in 1503. These are—it seems in recalling instances out of that great age which is more desirable and satisfying than any other before or after—then, somewhat as follows: gravity, coolness, hardness, restraint; great sobriety of form and gesture; strict balance in composition; the contours based on immediate observations of people in the world, and not on anatomical study and academic usage, so that poses are copied rather than composed. The rôle of shadow is reduced to insignificance, colour is constant, strong, and used for its own sake. The simplifications involved therein bring about that beauty of reticence, that

grace of incomplete expression, that sub ordination of fact to formal terms, that insistence and predominance of a canon, which we call the quattrocento character.

The ancona of Ardara was painted in 1515 and signed by Giovanni Muru; and another very like it existed at Bisarcio till early in the nineteenth century, when somebody set a votive lamp too close. Spano discovered the inscription under the *sagrario* and published it in 1859. Retable of Ardara

EN LAI | IOAN̄ES ‡ M VRV ‡ ME PINS IT ‡ | MVXV

HOC OPUS FECIT FIERI MOSEN IOAN. CATAHOLO ASIPRESTE ET DONV BAINIV VALEDEV ET DONV VALENTINV DETORI ET MASTRV BAINIV MARONIV ET DONV PEDRVSV MADIVS OBRES.

There is no certainty that Muru painted more than the Pietà or possibly the pre- Joan Muru

Plate XXIX

della as a whole, there is indeed a look as if the cartel of Muru overlaid the date and was added afterwards: but the date and the donors are unambiguous.

Scheme

In this we have, complete, unspoiled, *in situ*, just such a structure as the great Catalan retables. The entire chord of the apse is filled: two doors admit to the segment cut off behind, from the two sides of the altar: the predella contains, besides the Pietà, six scenes, and the upper part eight more, the central place being occupied by a niche for the Virgin's statue. Four-

Plate I, frontispiece

teen saints are set around in the guarda-polvo, and under two of these at the top, and in the spaces flanking the image, angels hold shields with the arms of Aragon. Contrary to earlier use, the highest space is occupied by the Birth of the Virgin, and directly under that is her Dormition or *transito*. On the left, reading down, the scenes are the Annunciation, Nativity, and Epiphany; on the right they read up, the Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost. That gives a fine symmetry, spiritual and plastic: the Holy

Ghost at the top, the first sight and the disappearance of the Lord, midway, and His manifestation to the Gentiles corresponding to His triumph over mortality. Up the sides are prophets, David, Moses and Daniel, Solomon, Abraham and Zacharias; Amos and Joel have been misplaced above the Annunciation (where Isaiah and Jeremiah should be), the mottoes on their scrolls being suitable to the Ascension instead; Malachi and Baruch fill the top. SS. John Baptist and Anthony of Padua, interpolated but unmistakable, flank the Birth of the Virgin. In the predella are found, S. Martin of Tours on horseback, S. Stephen and S. Januarius; S. Nicholas of Bari, then, as I suppose S. Pantaleone with his little box of powders, as at Dolianova, and S. Gavinus of Torres as Rider. SS. Peter and Paul are painted in full length on the great doors, here as at Perfugas.

Prophets

Twin Horsemen

The dead Christ himself is painted so beautifully, with such morbid softness and shadow upon the smooth flesh that I

Pietà later?

should reckon Muru's work the last touch. He is quite alone.

The photograph will show the beautiful late-gothic tracery of the entire mass. The painting has still gold backgrounds left to glimmer softly in the darkness of the ancient church, and strong beautiful colours to burn above the altar lights. The effect of the whole, to one entering, is indescribable—amazement, delight in the splendid colour and intricate logic of the whole, a sense of complete fulfilment that the ruinous state of many panels, happily still unrestored, cannot allay or mar. Whether Mosén Cataholo's master painter were Giovanni Muru of Ploaghe, or were someone so far unnamed, he knew the ateliers of Cagliari and adopted their conventions in representing the throat muscles, and adapted those affecting the sternum. As you sit and look up the work seems surprisingly contemporary with the *retablo mayor* of Avila, and is indeed only seven years later: it Italianizes rather in the same way, from memories of Florentine *botteghe*.

Synthesis

Cf. Avila *c.* 1508

Transito

The brocades still hold their place in the compositions—in the Epiphany, the Ascension, the Pentecost; and the backgrounds still are gold. The *Transito* as a central theme is said to be proper to Spain and Sardinia only: in Italy it is set in the predella oftener, but I recall a Sienese fresco in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico. The truth is probably that wherever *Nuestra Madre*, as they say in Zamora, was greatly loved, the hour and manner of her release were celebrated. This one is composed very like that at Olzai, S. John supporting the great candle that she lifts her weak hand to touch. In an upper corner, cut off by a curtain, is seen the angel apprizing S. Thomas afar off in India. The foremost figures are charged with an open book and the text. *In exitu Israel de Egypt.* I do not recall another instance of this touching application of the familiar psalm.

Two little figures are discernible down in front, a fat priest in red cassock and black cape, and another personage with a cross-topped staff: these Spano will inter-

The genius of Muru

pret as the Archpriest and the *operaic maggiore*, Muru or another. His genius, like that of his forebears, was before all decorative, his conservatism, in retaining for instance the prophets, was not perhaps voluntary but was a great advantage, his panels are all conceived with a dramatic sobriety. But this is a striking case in which the whole is so much greater than any or all its parts, that it is hard to do justice to his individual power. It may be inferred, however, from the Catalan contracts that Sr. Sanpere y Miquel has published, that the painter had great liberty in arranging and even selecting his material.

Frescoes

On the piers of the church of Ardara ruined frescoes may still be seen, of the twelve Apostles and the four Doctors, but they are probably work of the seventeenth century. The ruinous frescoes on the western walls seem to me also late; they represent on the south S. Michael and the

Vernicle

(*V*. p. 141)

Madonna

Photo. A. R. Giles

(*V*. p. 126)

Photo. C. Aru

Sanluri Pietà

(*V* p. 147)

Photo. G. G. King

Perfugas

Another ancona

Last Judgement, on the north a *Gloria* (Heaven) and S. Gavinus as Rider. Another retable full of charm, fresh delicate colour and dramatic grace of movement, is leaning against the south aisle-wall near the west end: it is by another hand from the high altarpiece and a little later in date. It was always minor work, but gracious, pleasurable. It is, apparently, the remnant of the "ancona in the right aisle" which Enrico Costa saw and described a quarter of a century ago:[21] if one could hope the missing parts had been cut away and sold one would be thankful, but it is likelier that they broke and crumbled and went at the last to boil the pot. There is some profit in enumerating the scenes as it was composed: in the centre a Madonna *lattante*, above her the three Maries at the tomb, the Calvary over all. On the left, the Deposition is placed under the Flagellation; on the right, the Entombment under the Way to Calvary. It should be remarked that the two central scenes are painted on canvas where the others are on panel: this allows a pre-

sumption that they were fetched from elsewhere to replace lost portions. The same situation exists in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca.

The Riders

In the predella the Risen Christ holds the central place: SS. Anthony of Padua and Stephen flank him, and the Riders. SS. Gavinus and Martin, close in the row. Below the Crucified runs the guardapolvo divided into three compartments, occupied by the Eternal and two angels; a saintly bishop, and a knight with bow and bird, being represented on the uprights that enclose the Holy Women at the Sepulchre. If this huntsman is S. Julian, as seems probable, the date of the picture must fall about 1529 or 1530. Up the sides, below, are to be seen on the left SS. Eulalia, Bridget, Catharine and Cecilia; and on the right SS. Barbara and Lucy, and probably SS. Tekla and Ursula. Over these Virgins, two and two, are crowded Daniel and Malachi, Isaiah and Father Adam! There are tokens here of reconstructing. More interesting are the dialectical forms of two names, that have a Spanish proven-

A week-long feast Jan. 20-27

ance: for Cecilia, Xixilla, and for Eulalia, Olaria. In this frame exists a sad sort of painting, but a historical interest, and when all is said, in the ancona as a whole the gold lines of the design, the mullions and mouldings of the Gothic framework, the fading colours like a winter sunset, make it something very precious and fair to see.

A Vernicle Plate XXX

In the sacristy is a processional standard on panel: on the obverse the Virgin, on the reverse the Holy Face. The *parocco* of Ardara is young and exceedingly kind, and if he knows little about painting he has a loyal respect for the monuments in his charge: his Palm Sunday sermon was homely and fragrant as thyme and rue, and the ceremony of the morning Mass and procession, where, as in some old pictures, olive twigs did service for palms, was devout and entirely edifying. The discourse, the rite, the retable, were all in one key, all of one same sweet savour.

A third great retable

Statements have been made and repeated, hardy enough as to fact but not explicit in detail, to the effect that a similar retable exists at S. Pietro di Sorres near

S. Pietro di Sorres ruined by repainting

Bessude,[22] besides that at S. Antioco of Bisarcio which was burned—that the three were much alike, identical in plan and painted by the same hand. Now the Borgo of Ardara belonged to the diocese of Bisarcio till that was suppressed in 1503 and then the incomes were not stopped; the archpriest Joanne Cataholo is mentioned in an old codex at Sorres under the date of 1505. This makes the story plausible. Against the apse walls of S. Pietro hang three panels and the Tabernacle is said to be composed of three predella fragments, the dead Christ, placed between a Virgin Martyr and S. Pantaleone: other bits were reported as hung along the aisle walls, and the statue of the Virgin in its carved wooden niche, yet stands in a corner. The whole was repainted by one Porcu about 1825.

S. George of Perfugas

With that of Ardara, still splendid and serene, and those of Bisarcio and Sorres, quite perished or sadly ruinous, must be

named the retable of S. George of Perfugas, but little more than named. Ill-considered devotion worked more harm there than at Bisarcio, for the retable is not a lovely memory but a monstrous and awkward offense. It was completely repainted by an illiterate person, early in the nineteenth century. The magnificent frame is so ruinous, the repainted saints are so disguised and indistinguishable, the transformed scenes are so distressing under inspection, that critical discussion is impossible. There is almost a certainty that the panels are out of their order, and a presumption that some are missing. If I could believe that the original conception, even apart from the execution, were as silly as the present Ascension would seem to indicate, I should grieve the less.

Qy: Porcu again?

It is the *retablo mayor* of S. George of Perfugas, a pleasant church, single-aisled, of typical Spanish late Gothic building. It has never been moved, and there are still fifty-one panels in the composition. The original work being done in tempera on a gold ground and the repainting in oil,

"Aragonese" architecture

there is hope that such a careful and competent restorer as he who removed a genial S. Peter's beard and revealed S. Loy in his youthful gravity, might clear away the abomination without working irremediable harm.

Architecture of frame

Explicitly it should be said that the magnificent retable is not of the same architecture as that of Ardara: this is "flamboyant," that is "perpendicular" Gothic: also, the dividing ribs or mullions are quite differently treated. The two styles coexisted, apparently, in Sardinia.

The titular, S. George, in the centre at present is no more than a foolish Hobby Horse: above him is a Virgin and Child with S. Joseph and a female saint; over that, the Calvary. Panels have been misplaced and interchanged recklessly since the installation: but at present they read as follows, beginning on the left at the bottom, a most unusual arrangement, itself evidence of tampering: on the Gospel side, Annunciation, Nativity, Pentecost; S. George on horseback killing the dragon, Epiphany, Ascension. Up the central

niche, three little saints on each side. On the Epistle side, S. Gavino de Torres on horseback, Circumcision, Assumption, Visitation, Resurrection, Coronation. Predella: SS. Ambrose, Gregory, Mary with the dead Christ, Jerome, Augustine. Doors: on the left, S. Peter has disappeared; right, S. Paul. Between these and the present altar two panels that fill up a vacancy are apparently originals of the restorer, SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua. The restorer has turned the gold backgrounds of the predella into draped curtains.

Guarda-polvo

On the frame the small figures are very hard to identify, for the repainting took no account of emblems or significant traits: they read: Left, bottom: S. John Baptist, S. Andrew, another apostle, a knightly saint. Right, top: S. Michael, a young knight, S. John Evangelist; a donor in white cloak and *golilla* interpreted, in the nineteenth century, as a standing collar, but completely Spanish in face and beard. Across the top of the structure run half-lengths, five on each side, those on the

left monastic, those on the right virgin: two more are placed on each side of the Calvary, and three along the top of that, but it is impossible to say whom they represent. It is probable that the figures should be sought in the annals of Montesa or those of the Order of S. George of Alfama, incorporated with that in 1400. The single-aisled church with its characteristic architecture, aloof from any town, was probably a Commandery of the Order.

Order of Montesa

The gold mantles of SS. George and Gavinus fly out behind them, as the Rider's mantle has been always drawn, from the Horus relief and the Justinian ivory, to the so-called Constantines of French Romanesque, nay, to the Great Seal of the Garter, and the figure of S. James Matamoros as depicted for the Knights of Santiago. These two figures are set against gold backgrounds—a curious touch of archaism preserved in the cult-figures.

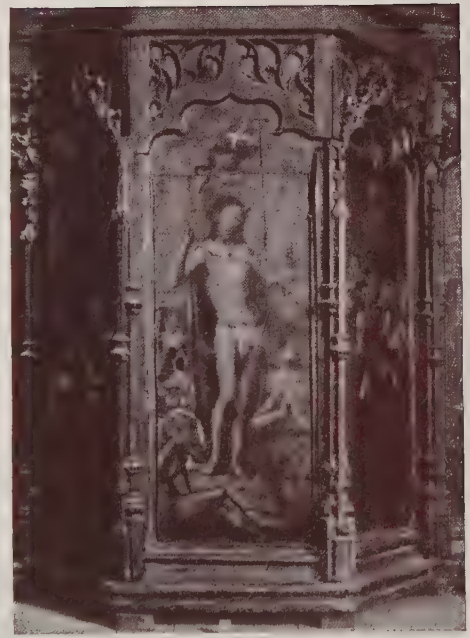
The Rider as Patron

With II century Bosphorem coins

The Virgin in the Annunciation wears her gold mantle over head and all; in the Coronation, Christ crowns his Mother as in Fra Angelico's pictures; the Assunta is

(*V.* p. 154) *Photo. A. R. Giles*

Retable of Villamar



(*V.* p. 158)

Photo. A. R. Gilles

presented like a Spanish Purisima, with knees a little bent, and hands joined in prayer.

For the ascending Christ with two arms curving up, and the Resurrection in a dancing posture, Raphael is probably responsible: at Sedini, not far away, someone copied for the church of S. Andrea the Transfiguration of Raphael, putting S. Andrew in front at the left. That church is about contemporary with S. George of Perfugas, and has a finer "Aragonese" doorway: the Transfiguration however is probably the picture ordered by Bishop Giovanni Samia, a patron of art, whom Spano speaks of, and who lived later in the century. With the flying angels on either side, and the tempestuous crowd below, the Perfugas scene had, no doubt, an enchanting aspect of modernity when it was first seen in place: the Pentecost however is composed in the old tradition.

Plate XXXI

Raphael's Influence

Bullettino, p. 16

Rare in Sardinia is the motive of this Pietà, that has once been very fine, a Virgin with the dead Christ: the body soft

Pietà

and limp, the head falling into the shoulders against her arm, her other hand thrown out with a gesture like Michelangelo's.

The gesture of the Baptist also differs from those in Cagliari: one arm is down and one up, not pointing across.

Another style

In effect, this retable that was ordered by a Knight of Montesa for a lonely church, possibly dedicated to his Order, toward the close of the first third of the sixteenth century, is quite unlike what Cavaro and his group were painting at Cagliari then, and not much more like the work of Muru and his assistants at Ardara. The groundwork was archaic, but new themes and saints were selected, gold backgrounds persisted only in special cases: an impulse was felt from Rome. The types, if it is ever cleaned, will surely prove to be Sard, and the colour stronger and richer than Italy employed.

Perhaps it should be explained that a great retable of this sort, filling up the whole east end, enclosing the altar, and including the doors which lead into the space behind, is characteristic of Catalonia.

Forment's carved retables in Aragon, which provide for painted doors or else set a statue in a niche where the doors had formerly been, are only an adaptation of the device. Originally, when the great structure spanned the chord of a Romanesque apse, there was so much room behind that a retrosanctuary was at times provided, as at Tarragona cathedral; always the empty room there offered a convenient place to keep spare candles, oil for the sacred lamps, and other immediate needs, so that in some churches the two doors, with acolytes coming and going, present such an arrangement as the prothesis and diaconicon of early Syrian churches. Finally, in Barcelona cathedral at the present day the space behind the retable in the side chapels has been utilized for dressing rooms for the chapter, and you may see a canon going in after the office in gauffred alb and purple mantle, to come out in shabby soutane with a moth-eaten beaver. This arrangement is more comfortable and decent, certainly, than at Pisa, where canons stand in the nave

Damian Forment in Aragon

Cf. the present use of Lyons

pulling off their albs and dropping them into lockers devised in the benches along the walls.

Good examples of this splendid monument and the relation of predella, altar and doors to the altarpiece and to each other, are the retable of S. Martin at Sarroca or that of the so-called Architect's chapel in the cathedral cloister at Barcelona.

Mas—
C. 336
B. 1538

The retable of Villamar is older than this, being dated 1517.

Before returning to the group of Stampace painters it is pleasant to know that Joan Barcaló was living in Sassari in 1510. In the old days when Ruskin was just writing *Modern Painters* and Morelli was still in the banking business, two Sardinian painters only were recognized, like low hung stars, in the field of European knowledge: Picalull and Barcaló. For a while they were eclipsed, they were held for fabulous, but Dr. Aru who published

Joan
Barcaló
1510

Picalull's diverting contract to decorate a sepulchre handsomely has found also the document, which Spano saw, witnessed by *Johæs Barcalo*, *pictor*, and citizens of Sassari. It remains only to find a picture for him.

1. Followers of Figuera's

Two groups of painters have been identified already as working at Cagliari and elsewhere in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The one formed by the teaching of Rafael Thomás and Joan Figuera, among whom we should enumerate their run-away apprentice Antonio Ortu, and perhaps Antonio de Badia though of him we know neither the work nor the occupation, cannot be identified with certainty for the space of about forty years: the evidence for its existence lies in the continuity of style and intention betrayed in the predella paintings of the ancone from Tuili and Sanluri. When compared with the predella of the S. Bernardino retable. their descent is manifested.

2. Followers of Barce'o's

Another group proceeding directly from the *bottega* of Joan Barcelo, and including the man who painted the Carnicer retable, must include

also the masters of Tuili and Sanluri and Castelsardo, and the painter of the Birmingham Virgin, who came possibly from Oristano. In these, two currents of tradition meet and are mingled, as at Venice in the case of the younger Vivarini. The third group held itself, apparently, apart and had its own name and centre of business at Stampace, and as Italianizers doubtless intended to realize as much from their situation as at Rome the pupils of Raphael. The chief family among these was that of Cavaro.

3. Stampace painters

Cavaro family

Antonio Cavaro was involved in a sale in Cagliari in 1455; Lorenzo Cavaro was set down on January 28, 1500, as a painter and a resident of Stampace, and again in the record of his finishing the retable of S. Paul at Gonnostramatza on December 20, 1509. Peter Cavaro believed himself to have signed the retable of Villamar in 1517, and was already dead in 1539; I believe Dr. Aru has discovered a record of his death near the beginning of that decade. *Pietro pintor* who died in 1541 seems to have been another of these. Michele

Cavaro of Stampace was living in 1544. Michael Tocco of Stampace, residing in Cagliari, was condemned in 1561 to perpetual exile for painting obscene pictures: if he returned, he incurred three years' service in the galleys. In the margin of the protocol is written "Depixit obscenas figuras contra puellam sed mirabili arte" —from which we may infer a grievance, and a revenge a little like the *Vampire* of Mr. Kipling and Sir Philip Burne-Jones, and the painter's flight to another capital.

At Boca Antonio Cavaro Pintor 1556

Spano, *Bolettino*, p. 13

While citing documents, we may quote the record of Lorenzo Cavaro's finishing his work at Gonnostramatza, which was published by the *parocco*, Don Pietro Cossu, in 1908:

"A fool there was . . "

> en annj MDI es pītada tela
> lo dit retaulu mās de
> mestral Lorens Cavaro de Stam-
> pas feta a xv de De[c]iēber
> an de sus dit.

Corriera della Isola. No. 209

This is the speech of the country, but entirely plain.

The retable I have not seen, unfortunately, but understand that it is smaller

Gonnostramatza

and better painted than that of Villamar; composed like all the others from Cagliari, with central and side panels in two ranges, SS. Paul and Anthony below, an Annunciation, in two parts, above, and a Calvary over all; the Madonna is enthroned, with music-making angels, in the middle, and the predella has nine compartments.

Between bad Latin and unctuous humility, Pietro Cavaro compromised his chance for immortality, but Dr. Aru believes that he painted the great structure fetched from Villamar to the Museum. The inscription is this—it may be read in the photograph with a glass:

Plate XXXII

Retable of Villamar

> anno salutis MDXVII die XX Maii
> pingit hoc retabulum Petri Cavaro
> pictorum minimus Stampacis.

Peter was illiterate, ambitious, and in respect of beauty blind and palsied both. In this great polyptych the collection of motives, both plastic and iconographic,

novel to Sardinia, is considerable: the colour is in quite another key, the composition is both rich and ingenious, with a pleasant amplitude that is a sign of the new times: the slim sweet-faced adolescent angels, girded close about the hips, evoke Italy as he intended—but the people are ugly, the colours are ugly, the composition even is ugly. The two thieves writhing, their arms bound over the cross bar, are as objectionable as if they were in Suabia or Lorraine. Disguised pages supplant the earnest, unhappy angels in alb and dalmatic. Instead of the superb Valencian tiles of the Sanluri retable, he sets a dull chequer-work of black and white marble—save in the panel of S. John, which is more archaic than the others in every way.

A new ideal

Instead of the solemn Pietà upon the *sagrario* he shows a Risen Christ, blessing, among soldiery, some dazzled, one adoring, and the banner of the Resurrection he countercharges, with white cross on a red field, for what reason I know not. The wainscoting behind S. John Baptist is

Thus Vergós

adorned with reliefs that show the Feast of Herod and the Decollation: behind this appears a strip of landscape, and the stamped gold background takes the place of the sky. This is what Vergós did in the retable of the Constable. In the corresponding scene of the Baptism, a very blue-green river, hills, and the Eternal, with scrolls and a dove, about fill up the piece: the type of the Baptist is slightly altered to one less massive. Above, on the left hand, S. Michael is slaying the demon rather leisurely: both in form and temper this panel would make a better pendant to the Precursor, if it might be interchanged with the Baptism, and the latter, with diffused decorative elements distributed in the sky, would relieve the composition and balance nicely the scene of the Stigmata, with the crucified seraph and a little church among the woods breaking into the gold sky, and the half-kneeling saint with a sleeping friar spread over the lower part, in the sort of pattern made by angel, Christ, and Baptist below. There can be no question of interchanging the

panels, because they disagree in size; but there is strong appearance of priority about the work on the left-hand side. The composition and conception are more archaic, the forms are solider, the details are symbolic, the two little souls in S. Michael's balance being, for instance, entirely mediaeval, in the fearful joy of the white-robed, and the agonized entreaty of the other, mother-naked. On the opposite side it appears, for the first time in this study, that the painter is pre-occupied with making a pretty picture. The result is still a "primitive," but one self-conscious and uneasy as if it were a French primitive.

Souls in balance

The figures of the frame are: S. Nicholas, S. Onuphrius, S. Anna Selbdritt, and S. Ursula with her virgins across the top; the portion above the Calvary has been removed; on the right, to match S. Ursula, the Santos Medicos, then, reading down, S. Catharine crowned with roses but keeping her wheel, S. Christopher and S. Anthony Abbot. It is possible that the lost top is still preserved at the Museum,

in a horizontal strip, near by, painted with a figure of the Eternal who looks like an emperor, between two bishops who hold each a church—SS. Lucifero and Efesio most probably.

Their croziers have no *manga*

Plate XXXIII

On the predella are represented the Annunciation, SS. Mary and Joseph adoring the Holy Child; the Epiphany, Resurrection and Ascension on the three sides of the *sagrario;* Pentecost and the Dormition. The composition of the last disguises the unhappily rectangular bed, introduces holy women about it, and centres upon a little white elderly virgin carried up by angels, while one of the apostles is reading from the same richly illuminated book that was seen in the guardapolvo of Sanluri. In the Ascension a full-length Christ goes up, with sufficient dignity, one arm being outstretched, and the marks of His feet plain on the rocky mountain top; in the Pentecost the arrangement modifies but little the original Catalan form, as it appeared in the retable of Joan Barcelo. On the whole, the predella represents a third stage in growth,

Transito

after archaic and landscape phases were past, and is happier. No wonder Peter Cavaro was careful to sign what was the record of all his youth, and bridges as wide an interval as that between *Alastor* and *Adonais*.

Sard crucifix

Of the Calvary I have waited to speak separately, because in it appears a novel posture of the Redeemer, his knees being drawn up almost to a right angle and seen in sharp perspective to the left. In another Calvary based on this one, with certain improvements, that hangs in the adjoining room, He wears a large loin-cloth folded and twisted, big as a petticoat: and this final form is characteristic of the Crucified in Sardinian painting for the remainder of the sixteenth century. A painting of the Crucified in the Municipio at Sassari shows this form. The Calvary that tops the retable of the Death of the Virgin, and that from Lunamatrona, repeat the peculiarity; so does the triptych of the Visitation from Soradile, and a painting in Cagliari cathedral. Because it appears in what seems to be an intermediate phase, here in

Plate XXXIV

Indicates place and date

the polyptych of 1517, the other Cagliari paintings must be dated after that. Presumably a Crucifix was revered in Stampace from which these painters copied, Peter with hesitation, the others with delight at first and finally unaware. In the present state of knowledge it is not permissible to fix on this marked peculiarity as a badge of the painters of Stampace; but it will serve to fix a date, occurring as it does only from about 1520 to about 1590.

It has been a surprise and an advantage to me to remark how critics coming to this retable of Villamar from Italy, feel its Catalan-Sard quality: for the other aspect is what my note-book records: "The style is softer, Italianizing: shadows are softening the faces though fairly firm form persists underneath: there is no pleasantness in the colour: every one is attitudinizing, without any dramatic emotion."

At this point it becomes necessary to return to the Neapolitan painting in the

church of SS. Severino e Sosio, where a bishop sits enthroned in the centre, vested scrupulously in alb, amice and stole, with a gorgeous brocade cope over all. Four apples are placed at the corners of his throne. The side panels contain pairs of saints, above and below; the two SS. John corresponding to SS. Benedict and Vincent, the latter in a superb brocade dalmatic with apparels of embroidery; while above, half-lengths of S. Paul the Hermit and S. Paul the Apostle—the latter a little repainted into a private gentleman of the late cinquecento—are balanced by S. Peter whose keys have been painted out, and a fine old pope. The central panel above shows in an open colonnade a lovely Virgin, crowned, squirting milk from her breast to the Holy Child.[23] He turns his elfish face up toward her, but both hands are occupied with a plaited basket of cherries. From the gold backgrounds the stamped patterns have been effaced, and also the fringe of cusping under the ogee arches. The top of the upper panels was squared up and painted over

SS. Severino and Sosio

Repainted

long ago. Now this very rare motive of the Virgin is found in Cagliari Museum, among the fragments of a Stampace retable under circumstances rather peculiar. Not having a photograph, I transcribe my notes.

The Bishop's vision

"From S. Francesco (like the rest) an unfinished panel: Bishop in ecstacy, kneeling in brown habit and brownish-madder cope: a lovely Raphaelesque Virgin on the altar squirting milk while the Child turns to look at her. A Crucifix on the other side of the chamber very fine, not quite the Sard type but nearly: a long scroll at the top and two tables flanking it would have had inscriptions. There is a scrap of predella also, with two graceful figures, brownish and olive landscape, and a dry tree. Full XVI century. Aru would give this and the doors of S. Domenico to Cavaro when mature. I think this has a youthful unlaborious loveliness, as of one born in the Promised Land. The balance is almost divine, helped of course by the tablets. The colour is very individual in the finished parts—this maddery

(*V.* p. 159)

Photo Alinari

Crucifix

(*V.* p. 167

Photo. A. R. Giles

Retable of Lunamatrona

brown—and mightily felt as such, the shading soft as smoke, while Villamar has no such feeling. There is however great likeness in the forms of faces."

1903, *Boletin*, XI, 27–36

That the Naples picture should be by Andrea da Salerno, as the photographers call it, is impossible: that it should be by Francesco Pagano of Naples, as Sr. Tormo suggests, cannot be affirmed or denied, for we have no certain work of Pagano's, either in Spain or in Italy. What we know about him is this:

"Tedesco" and "Florentino"

A MS. diary of Valencia, seen by Villanueva, says that in 1471 were fetched two master painters, Florentines, very subtle and apt in the art of painting. As Italians used German to signify anyone from across the Alps so, by Spaniards of the fifteenth century, Florentine seems to have been used for Italian taken by and large. For in a document executed before the notary of the chapter, the bishop and canons agreed, on July 28, 1472, to pay

Pagano

to Pablo de Areggio and Francesco Neapoli three hundred ducats for the frescoes of the Capilla Mayor. Whether this means vaulting or choir-enclosure, matters little, as there are no frescoes now. A fragment preserved in the sacristy, if from the latter place, may possibly have been executed by the Emilian, or possibly by the Neapolitan. The bishop in the contract is

1455–1492

another Rodrigo Borgia, who had his own relations with the cities of the coast, but is not particularly associated with Jativa: the painted bishop in Naples, as we have seen, belongs with the Jativa-Sardinia group. After 1482 Pagano is not heard from: he might have gone to Cagliari and passed thence to Naples, but *might* contributes nothing to evidence. The Cagliari panel, unfinished, with its careful provision

Franciscan theme

for inscriptions, must be the first version of this motive: the foolish climbing *putti* of the bishop's throne are an awkward adaptation of the Sanluri ornament. The Naples painter must have known Sardinia as well as Spain: that is as much as we dare assert.

A likeness to some of this Cagliari painting in colouring, in types, and to some degree in forms, is also found in an altar-piece at the Naples Museum traditionally ascribed to Fiorillo. Francesco Fiorillo was said on the untrustworthy authority of Dominici to be a pupil of Andrea da Salerno's: a liar may tell the truth, but Andrea da Salerno, Fiorillo and Dominici are all uncertain quantities. What is certain, is that the picture was bought for the gallery from somebody's widow in 1901, when primitives were not yet popularized; and that it bears the following inscription across the lower panels:

Ancona of S. Leonardo

> Hoc op. f. f. Jacob de Ricard-Ex legato qdam Pascarii de Richarda et Joanelle uxoris eius divo Leonardo dica tu est sub. A.D. 1521.

Dated 1521

There was a convent of S. Leonard in Cagliari and this picture may come from thence. The upper part shows a Calvary with only the three who best loved the Lord, between half-lengths of SS. Veneranda and Apollonia: the lower part a

Leonardesque not Sard

charming Madonna between SS. Leonard and Donatus: the predella a Last Supper that imitates Leonardo. The stuffs, the goldsmith's work, the haloes, are all utterly different from anything in the Museum at Cagliari, but if it were painted in Naples and sent over, it might have influenced the painting of the Bishop's Vision.

In any event, it is very far from the art of Pietro Cavaro, and to him and his school it is necessary to return.

Doors

The doors from Villamar are not with the retable but they may perhaps be identified with a pair in the Museum occupied by the usual effigies of SS. Peter and Paul, set against lovely stamped gold backgrounds. The doors from a like position in S. Domenico are even finer, though the background here is a small diaper, identical with that used in the minor scenes at Villamar; the colour however is very warm and rich, quite

Italian and Raphaelesque, and quite unlike that of the Bishop's Vision. S. Peter wears a red mantle over a purplish brown habit, S. Paul a mantle of the latter colour and a tunic more inclining to violet. Two Angels

With these pictures belong also two other fragments, one of S. Raphael with a princely little Tobias looking like Isabella d'Este's son; the other of an angel with sword and crown.

The retable from Lunamatrona is directly adapted, in parts, from Cavaro's. It is simplified: the Calvary omits thieves, horsemen and many figures. The other two panels in the upper register are devoted to the Annunciation; in the lower, S. John and S. Michael correspond. S. John is copied carefully, with alterations of type, gesture and drapery intended to lend more "nobility." S. Michael, in profile, bends over and advances rapidly: the last vestige of the dancing pose is lost. The central panel is a Raphaelesque theme, Luna-matrona

Plate XXXV

Madonna Tempi *c.* 1506?

an adaptation of the Madonna Tempi, two angels holding up a cloth of honour behind. The Virgin in both scenes is long-faced and rather touching in her wan stillness. Landscape backgrounds are used in the Calvary, the Pietà, and the two panels of saints, and a painted sky.

Sagrario motive

In the predella two saints, three-quarter length, occupy each compartment: SS. Peter and Paul, Anthony of Padua and Nicholas of Bari on the left: opposite, SS. Cosmo and Damian delightfully conceived as scholars, then SS. Lucy and Catharine. In the central panel the risen Lord stands on the lid of His tomb, and a soldier kneels in the attitude of a donor. The carved canopies and tracery are all in good condition, late Gothic, elaborate, not very imaginative but rich and pretty. The same adjectives might serve for the painting—it is provincial, imitative, rather engaging, a little pitiful.

About contemporary is another retable in the Museum which is nearer to the Catalan prototype in the number and disposition of the scenes represented but still indebted to Cavaro. The central panel is given to the Death of the Virgin, a large Calvary coming directly above it. The left-hand range reads downward: the Annunciation, the *Presepio*, the Epiphany; the right-hand upward, Resurrection, Ascension and Pentecost. In the first scene the Virgin's *alcoba* still opens out of her chamber, but the bed is not represented; in the Pentecost the Virgin sits a little further down in front; in the Ascension the composition opens out to show the traditional Black Stone, roughly shaped like an Omphalos, that was revered at Jerusalem; in the Resurrection Christ flies up like a moth, and the characteristic lid of the tomb is turned crossways, while one soldier still prays and another hides his eyes. All these are motives found more or less exactly in Pietro Cavaro's great work. But the centre of the predella is occupied by a dead Christ upheld by two

Transito

So in Byzantine art 1000 years before

angels, and each of the other four panels by a seated figure of an Evangelist with his symbolic creature. S. Mark is cutting his pen, S. Matthew looking at the point of it, the other two are writing. The double silhouette, of saint and animal, is set against the low horizon and pale sky with the decorative value that Sardinian painting never loses or wants. The central scene is as traditional and tiresome as its far-off German original.

Motives from miniature

The artist's contribution

There is much of interest in the artist's own contribution, throughout. The swooning Virgin falls like a wooden image, but she is freshly imagined, and the scene of the Crucifixion is enclosed by tall standing silhouettes of a Mary and a young Soldier. as once scenes had been framed in by mediaeval artists and were again to be so by Tintoretto and Greco. Nor is this all. In the background of the *Presepio* a walled and towered town is a fresh vision of the city of Cagliari. The grouping and posture of the shepherds here is full of truth and feeling, perhaps the best thing in the whole. The gesture of the second king

Plate XXXVI

(*V* p 170) *Photo. A. R. Giles*

Retable of the Transito

(V. p. 179)

Photo. A. R. Gilles

Retable of Fonni

turning to speak to the third (in the following scene) is more imitative and less felt. The scene of the Resurrection is laid in a cave, and dawn is seen in the sky outside at the right.

By this time the Neapolitan retable of S. Leonard had been painted: this is immeasurably separated from that, and the world in which that was evoked. The colouring is bad and tiresome, unfortunately. No gold backgrounds survive in this picture, but the debt to Pietro Cavaro requires its inclusion.

Cathedral triptych

In the cathedral of Cagliari a ruined and repainted triptych may be seen in the south transept, above the sacristy door. The Sard Christ hangs with the two thieves, between the sun and moon: below, this panel is black and indecipherable. Beneath, the Madonna reigns between two angels. In the upper side panels the Annunciation is figured: Mary's reading desk is made like a curule chair, the arms

ending in lions' heads—the same shape is found, under a heavy covering, in the ancona of the Death of the Virgin: her face is the same type as in that from Lunamatrona, slightly recalling the delicate small Virgins of Fra Bartolomeo's youth. Behind the open door where the angel entered, may be seen a promontory and the sea.

S. Bartholomew

S. Bartholomew, who was according to tradition the Apostle of Sardinia (at Bonaria they show the place on the shore where he landed to preach), is depicted with the flaying-knife of his martyrdom and the subjugated demon that he fetched out of the idol. In the eastern parts of Spain S. Bartholomew is a common figure, and his legend is carved on the façade of a church at Logroño, on the Ebro, which was an important *entrepôt* on the great trade route from Mediterranean to Atlantic. He is a token always of intercourse with the east.

S. Jerome is kneeling before a crucifix of the characteristic type, the legs drawn up enough to make a lap, and the loin-

cloth big as a pillow-case. The hills in the background are those of the Bay of Cagliari. In this triptych, then, though barbarously repainted, may be identified another work of the painters of Stampace.

This brief account leaves untouched too many of the pictures of Cagliari, and passes over many of interest within the limits of the dates roughly indicated.

"Dear and great angel . . ."

The painting of two angels from a city gateway, which once belonged to Spano, and which Dr. Aru traced and recovered in 1912, has been so often repainted, I can make nothing of it. S. Michael has lance and scales. The other figure with sword and crown is that called in Italian *l'Angelo Custode*, in Spanish *Angel de la Guardia* and in English quite simply a Guardian Angel without any particular identity. The angel's name I do not know. The motive grows commoner after the Council of Trent, and Guercino and Guido Reni are addicted to it, and Browning on one

L'Arte XXIII, ii.

occasion addressed himself to it at Fano. I should have thought this painting from the Porta dell'Angelo to be cinquecento work, archaizing.

There are many more pictures in churches still unnamed, ranging down to Girolamo's great retable in the Carmen, where he painted his saints in tempera and set them against gold backgrounds, and signed, at the century's close:

Spano, *Catalogo*, p. 19

Girolamo Imparato Plate XLI

> Hieronimus Imparatus Neapolit. faciebat MDXCIV.

Oristano

Oristano was rich and important, yet not, after the ending of the Judges, a capital: it was therefore despoiled by every comer. Of the riches of the cathedral, after the rebuilding in the eighteenth century, and those of the Frailes, after the exclaustration in the nineteenth, no account remains. Spano sought out diligently many names of painters, but as this is precisely the region whence proceeded the

unlucky documents that were tampered with, his data need fresh verification.

How far forgery?

It is no more than proper to say that the forgeries, so-called, of historical documents are only partial. Some of the papers are certainly genuine; some of the material in the spurious *Codice di Arborea* is certainly historical. But at present we have neither facts nor paintings in any quantity which we can safely assign to Oristano.

Bullettino p. 12

In the sixteenth century Bartolomé Castagnola painted the greater part of the pictures of the altars of S. Francesco, at Oristano, Spano says. That church is now destroyed: why and when I am unable to say but there was some scandal involved, "non e licito de pubblicare," says the good Canon. At the suppression some English travellers bought some of the pictures cheap and carried them away: the Birmingham Virgin may quite possibly be one of these. Spano secured two in 1842, that formed part of the retable and represented SS. John Baptist and Matthew, full-length figures set against stamped gold backgrounds. The signature was there:

The Tschudi S. Louis another?

1502

Bartholomeus Castagnola faciebat, on the panel of S. John; on the other, *ano MDII mens. Aprilis*. The figures of the donors kneel in the corners, one "a woman like a nun holding a rosary," the other "a man in mediaeval dress, with hands joined." So they are painted on the Birmingham panel, on that of S. Pantaleone, on the later picture in Oliena. These two panels he cut out of the altarpiece, for it could not be transported: the beams of its framework were sunk in the fabric of the wall.

Franciscan saints

My friend A. R. Giles, who visited Oristano at my request in 1921, saw five long panels of Franciscan saints, with gold backgrounds, in the Municipio, that would correspond in date with those lost panels of Spano's and may have come from the same altar. They are known to have come from the church. Two pictures are preserved in the present Franciscan convent, which could not then be seen. In an old chapel of the cathedral dedicated to the Annunziata, are the fragments of a retable quattrocento in style, the central

panel containing two tall saints after the Catalan manner, one of whom is S. Clare, and four other compartments. This is precisely in the style of those, dedicated to SS. Clare and Catharine, in Barcelona chapter room and in the cloister chapel at Segorbe. Near by, upon the side wall, hangs a bit of the predella with three saints, very faded but good. All these are hard to see and impossible to photograph: they are probably earlier than Spano's ancona.

Retable of S. Clare

In the council room of the Municipio is preserved still a fine Madonna and Child, enthroned among angels, with a crowd of civilians about her knees and a pair of donors in dark Spanish dress: this is said to be dated 1565, and is in some ways very like a Virgin in Cagliari Museum. It seems to be from the same hand. Here in Oristano little naked angels in the foreground, about the Virgin's feet, are busying themselves with flowers: that at Cagliari was fetched I think from Oristano, and the Virgin cherishes a black bird on her breast as the Good Lady, the Guardian of Souls: it is admirable and charming.

Madonna 1565

A bird in her bosom

Sard folk-lore

A *nobile donna* of Olzai has confirmed the interpretation: in Sardinian folk-lore the souls of the dead are birds. I fancy this is the same Oristano painting as that of which Signor Brunelli had heard[24] as a mediocre triptych painted by a Sard-Spaniard under Italian influence during the second half of the fifteenth [?] century, that included a Madonna with music-making angels, a Crucifixion, and S. Martin, the left wing being lost. With this ends the account of known paintings at Oristano that fall within the range of this study.

At Bosa and Sagama, in the same region, only a seventeenth-century art survives. But among the mountains in the very centre of the island, under the heights of the Gennargentu, at Fonni and Soradile, Anna and Ellen Giles found, and communicated to me, two ruined altarpieces, one of which is not without charm. From the remains of what was probably the *retablo*

(*V.* p. 181) *Photo. A. R. Giles*

Visitation of Soradile

(V. p. 184)

Photo. G. G. Kin

Repainted Virgin at Orani

mayor of the parish church, the central panel is missing. There may have been a niche there for a statue, as at Ardara and Villamar. The side panels represent S. Christopher and the Baptist. The former stands nearly knee-deep in a river, among mountains, worshipping the Child on his shoulder; the palm tree which serves him for staff is firmly planted: one hand rests on his hip and one foot is set up on a stone. The whole figure may be traced back, clearly, to such great frescoes on church-walls as travellers still may see in Seville at S. Julian and in the cathedral. The Baptist is copied as closely as possible from Cavaro's and like that stands against high wainscoting, but a cloth of honour is hung, sprigged in a close pattern: the face is longer and leaner than those from Stampace and the beard light, short and sparse. In the upper panels were figured SS. Jerome and Catharine, in three-quarter length: S. Catharine, on the right, with palm and sword, has the same wainscot and cloth of honour as the Baptist diagonally opposite below, S. Jerome

Retable of Fonni Plate XXXVII

Sevillian origins

Cf. Zurbaran and Montañes

kneels, naked to the hips, in a mountainous landscape: the design again must be referred back to Seville, whence Zurbaran and Montañes had inherited the same plastic motive and used it identically. The Calvary is more archaic: the Sard Christ hangs heavily, the Magdalen kneeling at his feet: S. John lays one hand on his breast, the Virgin, hooded and wimpled, lifts up two hands with the finger-tips just touching, in an adaptation of the Spanish gesture that had a Byzantine source. A walled city crosses the background.

It is probable that this was a good painting once, and was repainted more than once, before it was broken up. The conjunction of two Stampace themes with two Sevillian, is curious and significant. The date falls certainly within the sixteenth century.

Triptych of Soradile

Quite unlike in temper is the other primitive, a triptych of the Visitation. Faded, blackened, repainted, and broken completely away in portions of the right-hand shutter, it keeps yet freshness, personality and an extraordinary *intimité*.

V BRYN MAWR NOTES

The dead Christ, in the Pietà, stands erect in an open tomb, touching the edges of it with his finger-tips: his head hangs on his breast. The white square of a shroud is held up, behind, by a pair of angels that may barely be divined. In the wings S. Peter reads his book, at the Redeemer's right hand, holding his key like a mace: the corresponding figure of S. Paul is broken away. At the top of the wings the Annunciation is fitted into the angles, below this, are a veiled saint on the left and opposite, an apostle whom I cannot identify: again below, S. Michael and S. Anthony Abbot.

Dead Christ in tomb

The meeting of the cousins takes place in a chamber, whence two windows open on city walls and woodland beyond, and from the doorway of a long passage the serving-maid watches, S. Joseph, on the other margin, standing passively. In the cool freshness of the flagged chamber, the shaded light and sense of murmurous leafage at the open windows, in the gesture of the tall woman in a white cap and shawl who leans forward to catch the hands of the gaunt invalid that looks so like her—

Interior

Plate XXXVIII

Northern traits

you have all the spiritual nuances, all the emotional contacts, of a northern folk, of indoor people, for whom life is hard, the clime unkindly, the soil niggardly. The island race, here, finds an expression that we have called northern, and the sixteenth century evokes a mood not wonted till the seventeenth or eighteenth.

Park scenery

For the Calvary the scene is laid in a park-like scenery, with a river winding back among pastures toward groves of oak and the spires of a distant town; the cross indeed seems erected on an island in the stream. The Virgin is like one who has grown old in grief: the S. John is amazed and impatient in his sorrow.

Gennargentu

This region, where the northern slopes of the Gennargentu break down toward the valley of the Tirso, was apparently a habitat of the painter's genius: hereabouts lies Ottana whence was fetched the early triptych, now at Cagliari, and nearer, at the bottom of a long declivity, the steep

town of Olzai scrambles up and down a little river-gorge. In the parish church there, opposite the retable of the pestilence, hangs a cinquecento painting of the Holy Family—consecrated to the mutual affection of three persons. Above is the Calvary; in the two panels on either side are figured saints whom I cannot identify excepting S. Stephen and possibly S. James, and four more in the predella are ranged about the Risen Christ. Notwithstanding the remains of cusping adhering to the panels, this is mid-sixteenth century, the beautiful placing of the two standing saints upon their panels, and the pattern of lighter and darker colours which they constitute, with the gesture and turn of head, indicate that much. But it has been too thoroughly repainted for any other indications to transpire. Presumably the large white handkerchiefs of the Virgin and S. John, in the Calvary, are drawn from Spanish courtly usage.

Holy Family

Cf. Velazquez's queens

Orani Retable of the confraternity

When coming out from visiting Olzai among the mountains, I saw at Orani, in the chapel of a confraternity, a retable that had lately been interesting, with a good deal of the Gothic canopy work intact. It was restored, not for the first time, about fifteen years ago, at the request of a devout lady, by a young painter of genius: he, being then about fifteen, repainted the Virgin and Child in accordance with his best lights, and the result is perhaps irretrievable. The composition was perhaps like that of Tuili. What the upper panel originally represented no one seems to know: in the centre of the predella is a *Presepio*. The large side panels contain SS. John Evangelist and Bartholomew, with the Annunciation over them; the predella, S. Paul and S. Pantaleone in half-length and at the extremities the two Horsemen, S. Gavinus in this case and S. George. It could never have been a first-rate piece, and the present quaint effect is probably a stronger aesthetic reaction than the original could have evoked.

Plate XXXIX

Gemini

Apropos one recalls how Canon Spano quotes somewhere the decree which a Bishop of Oristano issued to parish priests, that if they were so ill-advised as to employ a certain dauber they could pay him themselves: "—un certo guastamestieri per abbellire santi o per depingere quadri, che la spesa non sarebbe loro stata abbuonata nei conti." Episcopal monition

A surprising number of pictures is left still at Oliena, which lies almost due east from Olani, but with hill-country between, and must be reached from Nuoro. All these poor and inaccessible villages owe to their poverty their primitives which were not in the seventeenth century supplanted by fine new paintings as at Bosa or Nuoro or Sassari. The parish church of Oliena, indeed, preserves in the sacristy an *Apostolado* of the epoch, but in the church of S. Maria, now closed, are earlier pieces. Oliena

The most important of these, dedicated to the Virgin of Monserrat, falls rather within the second volume of this study. In the next chapel to that, too dark for any photographing, is an utterly ruined

S. Ursula Master

and utterly beautiful painting. It is by the same hand, perhaps, as a fragment representing S. Ursula and her Virgins preserved in Cagliari Museum, but better, exquisite in olive and rose: that also must be reserved, as full-blossoming of the cinquecento, without any traits of the primitive. But in the chapel opposite, a delicious Virgin and Child with angels offering cherries, falls within the age and the influence of Pinturicchio as Valencia knew him. The poetic young pages are SS. Sebastian and Julian, S. Roque is set with S. Apollonia in the upper register and S. Christopher over all. The tracery is rich flamboyant Gothic: the date about 1530–35. By token of brocade and halo and cloth of honour, this counts as a primitive and falls into its place as Valencian-Sard. In the predella the dead Christ has a bishop on either hand, a bearded saint at the left extremity. The young secular figure in cap and cloak, with a banner, at the right may be S. Gimignano, whom Crivelli represents as a page with a pennon, for the country folk call this the chapel of

Pinturicchio to be traced

Plate XL

S. Gimignano. The old motives of the composition have a new tone, and the air that blows through the piece here, as at a like moment in Valencia, is Umbrian.

In Sassari little has survived the prosperity of the seventeenth century. One tall figure of a Franciscan saint, whose golden brethren all are dead, is prisoned over an altar of an insignificant church. Two fine paintings in the sacristy of S. Maria de Betlem must be reserved for the next volume, so must, *à fortiori*, the interesting organ doors of Diego Pinna in the cathedral. Sassari

In truth there is hardly a village that cannot muster a battered panel, but in these poor remnants there is nothing to consider or discuss, and an essay declines into an inventory. With regret I record I have not seen all the early pictures known to exist in Sardinia. There is something at Suelli, at Borumini. At Girgei there is said to be an immense ancona, very Other early pictures

Crucifixion. Sacristy. Posada

archaizing: S. Vittorio, in the neighbourhood, has a discreet triptych. At Tuili still exists a second ancona dated 1534 in the Sard language: *sannu MDXXXIIII*, it has twenty-eight compartments, and is devoted to the mysteries of the Virgin and the Saviour. Canon Spano is the authority, and he was a sound appreciator of good painting; he says there is a fine S. Joseph in the Nativity; in the lower left-hand corner kneels a donor, worshipping. The Canon's catalogue of his own collection, and notes upon the collections of his acquaintance, make sorry reading, for not more than the smallest portion of all these pictures can now be found

Spano

E. and A. Giles

It is possible that important pictures yet exist in Sardinia of which I have no record, but it is not very likely. When Ellen Giles was going about in the island collecting material for the great work she was never to write—for death stepped in and took her—she saw just about everything there was, and though her note-books are crammed chiefly with folk-lore and custom and use, with costumes and

types and tales, yet where pictures existed they were noted down. I have read through all those note-books, and have reason to believe that some paintings noted therein have disappeared from Sardinia forever. Lawrence reports nothing, but his senses are attuned to the inner, not the visible. The pictures examined and discussed in this treatise are representative, and sufficient for study.

D. H. Lawrence

One other master, like Girolamo Imparato of Naples, though he lived on into the lifetime of Ribera, yet painted sometimes like a primitive: that is Andrea Lussu of Oleastra.

Andrea Lussu

At London, hangs Pisanello's S. Hubert, in which no sky is visible. The green woodland and its furry or feathered people stretch up to the frame above. In the inner chapter-room at Barcelona hang precious panels called by the name of Benito Martorell, one of them represents the Feeding of Five Thousand. The

S. Hubert

Five thousand

crowd stretches upward, in dwindling proportion, to the very top of the scene. In Cagliari Museum is a picture of S. Eustace chasing a stag that turns and looks at him in rebuke; a red and a brown hound and a curly spaniel accompany him. Here the wood comes up almost to the top of the panel, as a black smear with leaves along the edge: the picture though absurd in drawing is full of movement. All these are primitives; when the age of the primitives was closed, this form of composition disappeared, and had to be learned again from Japan. Lussu's large canvas at Martis, of S. Pantaleone healing the paralytic, is composed in the same way, carrying, straight up to the frame, the daïs on one hand, the crowd on the other. The scene is like a transcript from Vergós, recast a century later. The crowd is composed of individuals, each with his own separate soul's value, like a Book of the Mort d'Arthur. The colour is beautiful in its clear greens and reds, not smoky, nor veiled, nor modulated: while not patterned out in spots like that of a Holbein

S. Eustace

Spano, *Bullettino*, V, 89.

portrait, it is as pure. In composition, in colour, in form and concept both, this altarpiece is a primitive, though Lussu's Assunta at Calangianus is painted in a straight sixteenth-century continental style. Of the picture he signed at Posada in 1601 nothing can be heard. This of the miracle was signed as follows—he was never stingy with inscriptions:

Primitive

> Andreas Lusso Sardus oppidi Oleastry Dioecesis Suellensis inventor an. Dni. 1593.

Spano, *Catalogo*, pp. 14–16

The primitives of Sardinia, then, like the seventeenth-century painters, are Spanish artists. The art of the island is as Spanish as that of Seville, Valencia, or Salamanca. But like the painting in Cordova, or Jativa, or Saragossa, it is strongly original, and the qualities of quattrocentro art are specially adapted to foster and enhance it. What then, in conclusion, may we affirm are the peculiarly Sard traits?

Sard painting Spanish

Sard character

The stubborn race brought forth a stubborn and unyielding style: tenacious of tradition, repeating motives, forms, and composition with the least modification possible. Gothic frames continued in use till some time after 1530; gold backgrounds recurred even though sporadically till 1594.

They are hard men, and uncomely: their art is hard. Their Virgins are not beautiful. But nowhere else outside of Tuscany are the forms so solid under the garments, the flesh so firm to the tactual apprehension. Gesture, posture, personal carriage, are definite, and individual.

Painted for dark churches, almost windowless, among which Romanesque was superseded only by Spanish levantine Gothic and both styles were constructed expressly to shut out the sun, the elements of splendour, strong red and green and hard blue, gold haloes and gold grounds, gorgeously patterned brocades, were necessary to be seen and be understood. The retable, down the long aisle, must burn and glow, the figures stand out each in isolated silhouette.

Industrial art

The island, self-contained, cut off by its political situation often from Italy, by its geographical position from Africa, France and Spain, possesses its own industrial art, perfectly developed, complete and various, and very interesting to the natives who depend upon it. The beauty of textiles, the design of carved chests and furniture and doors, the patterns of the baskets which serve where pots are elsewhere used, the perfection of the metalworkers' crafts, have imposed upon the folk a decorative sense which kindles not only to create but to perceive and enjoy. The retable is composed like a tapestry, just as the brocade, in cope or dalmatic, is frankly treated like a sample. Furthermore, the individual objects, cup or crozier or book-rest, depicted in the paintings, consequently have a life of their own. The tiles were perhaps an imported luxury; though I have seen plenty in Cagliari very like those on which the Baptist of Villamar is standing, and indeed it is possible that the south of the island may possess a clay suitable for tiles, yet the *azulejos* of S. Loy

Mantas

are of the finest Spanish make. The bed-spreads, the furniture, the city streets in a predella, the landscape background in an upper panel, like the stamped gold patterns of the ground and the Gothic traceries of the frame, are all novel, local, not to be duplicated elsewhere: city street and towered town and roadstead mountain-enclosed being treated delightfully as beautiful products of Sardinia. In this the difference is surprising between Cagliari and Barcelona in the matter of gold ground, between Cagliari and Umbria in the matter of landscape background, and the advantage is not with the larger place. Commerce is content to repeat itself: the weaver, the potter, the single painter at his bench, work never twice alike.

Never twice alike

The island is a hard mother. The soil is unfertile, the climate ungenerous: snow and miasma take their toll by turns. One consequence of this is to mould the islanders more like a northern race, to teach them the sentiment of the hearth, and the shrinkings, the sensibilities, of an indoor people. Changes of light, of mood, of

(*V.* p. 186) *Photo. A. R. Giles*

Retable of SS. Sebastian and Julian

(*V.* p. 174) *Photo. C. Aru*

Imparato's S. James

bodily well-being, are expressed by the Virgins of Pietro Cavaro, in the retable of Tuili, in the triptych of Soradile. The Madonnas are not—even that of Castelsardo—hieratic and aloof, nor are they serene in the consciousness of beauty and health, nor ever sure of themselves: the angels hang a little anxiously on the glance of Heaven's queen. So many grave young saints brood mute and recollected. The predella Pietà, that in Italy ceased early to be even a form, is continued, is insisted on, with incredible passion: the very soldiers of the Roman watch forget their rôle and abandon themselves to adoration.

Anxious and sensitive

Religion in Sardinia is still a terrible passion: in these paintings it is present like an air, like sound going on under other happenings, like a smell of incense. It is never away, from the stiff SS. Francis and Nicholas of Ottana cathedral to the languid S. James of the Carmine chapel. Like the realism in Spanish painting that you will always find somewhere, on a high shelf or down in the foreground, so a flush, a quiver of religious feeling exists in every

Sard religion

Sardinian picture, in some face or gesture, the turn of an angel musician's head, the bowed shoulders of a shepherd.

Interior

The interiors in which the Annunciation happens, or the Visitation, the casual grouping of SS. Mary and Joseph with the Child, evoke that peculiar sentiment of an indoor life, shut well away, housed, closed off, and safe, which we have fancied the nineteenth century invented.

The traveller in Sardinia will not see these things in the peasants whom he meets. He will call them hard-faced, and probably rude. He will complain of their ancestral costumes, that they are dirty and shabby, precisely as Luitprand of Cremona said that of the nobles and emperor of Byzance. He will see nothing, unless he takes the greatest pains, for the

Peasant art

real peasant is shy as the mouflon. The paintings, however, he may see without great discomfort. They are racial, of the soil: they have, besides beauty, all the rarest qualities of a peasant art.

APPENDIX

I

Reixach, Jacomart, Huguet

Reixach

The *état civil* of Juan Reixach, painter, of the city of Valencia, has been established at last. In 1439 he painted a retable for the chapel of the castle of Jativa and carried it down there: Daniel Barcelo made the payments to him, to Guillen Vives cabinet-maker (*fuster*), and also to Martí Verdio (squire of the household of Mosén Berenguer Mercader, Knight, Warden of the castle of Jativa) who escorted him on the journey. Three panels, a predella, and two strips of guardapolvo constituted the work, which represented the Assumption and other histories. It was painted, gilded and finished in Valencia and set up in Jativa by the artist himself.[25]

Jativa

In 1440 he painted a Crucifixion for the Charterhouse of Porta Coeli; in 1456 a retable for Bocairente, 1458 the like for a

chapel in S. Juan, Albacete; 1460 an Epiphany for the parish church of Denia.[26] Meanwhile in 1456 he had signed a contract in Valencia for a retable with various histories and saints to be like another (of his own work) placed in the convent of the Merced, and called The Angelic Salutation. This seems to imply a central episode and flanking figures of saints, like the Carnicer retable, that of Barcelo, and that of Soradile. In 1463 he undertook for the Chapel Royal of S. Domingo de Valencia, "to paint and finish well and aptly *de colors al oli* the histories known and specified at length and in detail in the original memorandum."

Valencia

Retable of Cubells now at Barcelona

One retable of his is known to exist: that of Cubells, which he painted and signed in 1468. S. Ursula stands alone in the main panel; above, S. Bernard presents a donatrix, widow or nun, to a Virgin among music-making angels, who holds a stalk of lilies in her left hand and with her right supports a well-grown Child Jesus. The predella is very like such Sard work as the Ten Franciscan Martyrs: individual

figures seated in landscape, flanking a central Pietà.

Reixach family

His father might have been that carver of Barcelona, Lorenzo Reixach who with Francisco Janer carved the choir-stalls of S. Maria del Mar during and after 1424, and in late January of 1431[27] undertook to deliver at Easter a great retable, from which we infer that though he signs as *ymaginator*, he was doing only the carpenter's work, like Vives in the Jativa commission. Juan's son, again, may have been the Pedro Reixach who was engaged in 1471 to do the painting in the apse-vaulting of Valencia cathedral (*de lo cap del altar mayor*) for which Nicholas the Florentine had been summoned from Salamanca, and which was to be committed finally to a pair of Italians, probably by recommendation of the new Archbishop Rodrigo Borgia. At Denia in 1492 an unfinished painting for the high altar was still preserved in the house of the wife of Master Reixach,[28] and Master Martí undertook to finish it. The Reixach dame may have been either widow or daughter-in-law of the master who

Cf. pp. 163–164

worked more than thirty years, beginning his career half a century and more before.

Jacomart

The retable called of Pope Calixt, in the Collegiate church at Jativa, which presents SS. Augustine, Ildefonso, and Anna with her daughter and grandchild, was painted about 1450, and probably by Jaime Baço called Jacomart.[29] The cardinal Rodrigo Borgia became pope in 1455: he had been in Naples in 1444 and Jacomart was in Rome 1448; both indeed were in Valencia in 1446. The date and attribution are highly probable. At any rate, it is regional work, and the two bishops are superb.

The retable of the nuns of Segorbe, though not signed is dated: 1457 is probably the right reading. It bears the arms of Aragon-Sicily party per pale, and Jacomart was the chamber-painter of the King of Aragon, and the Lord of Segorbe, founder of the Ducal house, was that king's brother. The stately frontality of the

effigy, the character of the strong, lined face, the balance of the rich composition, are significant. The apparels of S. Martin's cope are bordered with the same twist as in the picture of S. Loy.

A fragment of S. Peter enthroned, with some others, still exists in the church of S. Juan de Morella: this is probably from that commission on which Jacomart was working in 1442: cardinals stood about the pope: some of the tiles are the same pattern as in the S. Martin, roses and crosses counterchanged. They recur for the third time in a single panel from a lost retable, in the possession of D. Luis Tortosa, in Onteniente, representing S. Bernardino and a canon as donor in which I cannot doubt the work is Jacomart's. The retable of Catí, for which we have the contract signed in 1460, repeats the tiles common to the region and Sardinia, below the central pair of SS. Laurence and Vincent Martyr: it is an unsatisfactory work, cited here because necessary to authenticate the rest. The Neapolitan painting of S. Francis giving the Rule, is not by him.

Morella

Azulejos

Jacomart and Jaime Baço

We may arrive some day at taking the fine name of Jacomart for the rest, and leaving this of Catí for some other Jaime Baço.

This summary of Jacomart's work seemed needful, to establish the Bishop type securely and from the outset in Jativa and the kingdom of Valencia.

Jaime Huguet

We have no way to know the aspect of the great S. Loy which crowned the long labours of Jaime Huguet: it was probably another such panel as S. Augustine's Installation. A note, however, on the work and life of Huguet throws some light on Sardinian usage.

"Invention" of Huguet due to Sanpere

The parents of Jaime Huguet were "Pedro Huguet Pintor"[30] and his wife Constantia, both living in 1439; he had two brothers, one called Anthony and the other after the other apostle James; his wife's name in 1473 was Juana Baruta, and his son (as I suppose) James witnessed a receipt for his retable in S. Maria del Mar, in the year 1480. In 1448 he can-

celled a contract for a retable of S. James in Arbeca; in 1451 he empowered his brother to collect for one sent to Sardinia; in 1455 he contracted for one of S. Maria at Ripoll. It would appear that the high altar there stood at that time under the dome, for the predella is painted on both sides. The tabernacle shows the same peculiarity as that of Tuili, putting a single saint's figure on one of the three panels, corresponding to scenes on the other two, but here the central piece is a crucifixion, and that of the right, Mary with Jesus in her arms: the isolated saint is a seated S. Benedict, Ripoll being a Benedictine foundation. From 1459 to 1477 he seems to have been regular in his duties to his guild, which was that of the Armourers. He painted the retable called *de los Santos Medicos* (SS. Abdon and Senen are the central figures) for Tarrassa in 1460; in 1466 one which contained the Coronation and the four Joys of Our Lady. Above the predella was a niche painted in cramoisy and overlaid with gold. In 1479 one of S. Martin: here the fields were to

Ripoll

Sagrario

Pietà

Fresneros

In Barcelona

Gold background

S. Loy

So far Sanpere y Miquel

be of colours as the histories required but in the central mansion the field was to be of fine gold. The retable for S. Maria del Mar was devoted chiefly to SS. Catharine and Bartholomew and the Magdalen; the description suggests single figures with scenes above and beyond, like the work of Barcelo. The retable of the Locksmiths was paid for roundly in 1483; thereafter no more is known. For assigning to him the retable of S. Augustine there is documentary evidence, but I do not know the date. That of SS. Julita and Quirse, and the little Epiphany at Vich, seem to be certainly his also. In what school he was formed no man can say, nor yet what were his relations with the atelier of the Vergós. He is not anywhere first rate: Joan Figuera has more temperament and Pablo Vergós more vigour; but he has great charm.

II

After these sheets were in type came the following anecdote in a letter from Sardinia:

In that same room is the predella of a lost ancona in the church of St. Lucifero painted by the better of the two Catalonian painters. I had the whole story, of how that was discovered by a professor from the continent, from one of the old waiters of the *Scala di Ferro*. This professor must have had sharp eyes and seen the Gothic carving, for he saw the board used to fence in chickens in the yard of a house not far from the church. He asked the people if they would let him have that board if he would give them another in its place. They agreed and he did give them a new board and twenty lire to boot, as the waiter thinks. The professor had the board brought to the *Scala* and there in a room the waiter pointed out to me, with endless patience and care, with his penknife he got the thick coats of whitewash off and lo and behold, under it was fine old painting! When the Professor was to return to the continent he did up the piece in the *Scala* carefully in sacking and started, but somewhere customhouse officers asked what was in

Cagliari Museum

Scala di Ferro

that long package. He replied "A board." "Let us see it." They saw and confiscated the object. I asked Tarramelli about the story and what had become of the old piece and he said: "Yes, it was all so, and that," pointing to the very predella Aru speaks of, "is the piece in question." I regret I did not ask him whether they punished the professor otherwise than by taking his find from him. Of course it was illegal to try to take an old painting out of the island without permission but he should have been rewarded for having saved a valuable old painting by his keen sight and patient labor from ending in the fire.

—*A. R. Giles.*

NOTES

[1] E. S. Bouchier, *Sardinia in Ancient Times*, p. 21; cf. pp. 2 and 73.

[2] Roque Chabas, in Almanaque de Las Provincias for 1904, p. 129: *La Conquista de Cerdeña por Mochehid Rey de Denia.* A set of this rare and valuable little annual by good fortune has been preserved, and exists in the University Library of Valencia. Only the unreckoning magnificence of Spaniards would commit so many priceless fragments of research and literature to the Annual issued by a great daily newspaper. Almanaque de Las Provincias

[3] Cf. *The Way of S. James*, II, pp. 133 and 500.

[4] Dionigi Scano, *Storia dell' Arte in Sardegna*, p. 62; and indeed *passim.*

[5] *Storia di Sardegna*, III, pp. 84 sqq.

[6] *Storia dei Pittori Sardi e Catalogo descrittivo della privata Pinacoteca del Canonico Giovanni Spano*, Cagliari, 1870. Cf. also articles in Bollettino Archeologico Sardo, anno VII, 1861, nos. 1, 3, and 5, of which a *tirage à part* exists paged consecutively.

[7] Cf. in especial *Abbecedario Storico degli Uomini illustre Sardi . . .*, Cagliari, 1689, which should have been an invaluable source.

[8] This was illustrated by Sig. Brunelli: *Il Polittico dello parrocchiale di Ottana*, in L'Arte, VI, 384.

[9] The painting of S. Francis giving the Rule to friars and nuns, is in the south transept of S. Lorenzo at Naples. The theme is most nearly paralleled in Luis Borassá's retable at

Cf. Borassá

Vich. The *azulejos* of the pavement show Catalan bars on a crowned shield, and likewise borne on a lozenge, which is Valencian: the heraldry however is negligent. The quality of the painting is entirely Valencian, and the tiles are fine Valencian work, *obra de Manises*. Cf. G. J. de Osma, *La Loza Dorada de Manises en el año 1454*, and *Las devices del Rey en los Pavimientos . . . de Napoles 1446–1458*.

[10] *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, IV, 1911–12: pp. 508–529.

[11] *Rafaelle Thomas e Giovanni Figuera Pittori Catalani*, L'Arte, 1920, XXIII, iii, pp. 136–150.

[12] Jahrbuch der Konigl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, 1909, XXX, pp. 179–299.

[13] Burlington Magazine, 1913, XXIII, pp. 287–291.

[14] Sanpere y Miquel, *Los Cuatrocentistas Catalanes*, II, p. 17.

[15] Jahrbuch, *op. et loc. cit.*

[16] Dr. Aru discussed this signature in the Anuari (*op. et loc. cit*), *Storia della Pittura in Sardegna*, uncertain whether it read Barcels or Barcelo, and showed it could not be related to Giovanni Barcaló who flourished in Sassari 1510. The retable of the Visitation was painted, he feels, somewhat after 1450, "un poco piu tarde" (p. 519). I should like to call attention however to one Daniel Barcelo who is associated with Johan Reixach *pintor* in the whole matter of the retable which the latter painted for the castle of Jativa. He was not a painter probably: where his name

Daniel Barcelo

East coast and island

figures in the receipts of 1439, it is replaced by that of Pere Garro in 1463, who elsewhere is called "En Pere Garro lochtinent." But in the latter quattrocento Jativa and Sardinia touched more than once. Reixach painting there in 1439 or Jacomart in 1450 could know a son of Daniel Barcelo's, and bring him away to find a career in the island ultimately.

[17] Raphael, however, who knew how to paint the Rider on a White Horse that drove Heliodorus from the Temple, knew also this S. Michael who is S. George's counterpart.

[18] Enrico Brunelli, *Un Quadro Sardo nella Galleria di Birmingham;* L'Arte, 1919, XXII, iv–vi.

[19] Jacomart was published by Puggari in a note *c.* 1881; by the Conde de la Viñaza in his *Adiciones* 1889; by Tramoyeres in the Almanaque de Las Provincias, 1906; by Sanpere in his *Cuatrocentistas*, 1906, where with characteristic magnificence, always as lavish to honour the learning of another as generous to share his own, he reprinted what was already inaccessible in the annual; finally Tormo y Monso published his book, 1914. Meanwhile Bertaux had told Europe. The principal dates and works have been given in the Appendix to this study, for Reixach, Jacomart, and Huguet.

[20] The known dates for a Sanluri-Jativa connexion are as follows:

1423. Priest Francisco Bosch of Jativa comes thence to see Picalull.

1439. Daniel Barcelo and Juan Reixach are in Jativa.

Sanluri-Jativa

1450 (?). Jacomart in Jativa painting retable of Pope Callixt.
1451. Huguet sent a retable to Gabriel Canila in Sardinia.
1454. Figuera in Barcelona.
1455. Figuera in Cagliari.
1455. Matias Figuera dead in Cervera, Bartolomé Gistafre represents Joan Figuera there.
1455–65. Joan Barcelo in Cagliari.
1461. Figuera in Cervera.
1468. Reixach in Cubells.
1478–79. Marquis of Sanluri in Jativa.
1483. Huguet paints S. Loy in Barcelona.
1510 (?). S. Loy of Sanluri.

This, it will be conceded, proves nothing but it teases the fancy; dates and facts are good for bits and bridles.

[21] Enrico Costa, *Un Giorno ad Ardara*, Sassari, 1899, pp. 69–74.

So reports A. R. Giles

[22] The present altarpiece at Bessude represents S. Martin as Rider, was painted in 1632, and was restored in 1784 by order of the Dean of Torres, the Reverend and Noble D. Salvator Roig.

[23] That the tondo ascribed to Botticelli in the Ambrosiana affords the only other instance of this theme that I can recall, suggests a fear that the lovely painting may not be Botticelli's after all. Cf. Burlington Magazine, 1922, LXI, 157.

[24] E. Brunelli: *Appunti sulla storia della pittura in Sardegna: Pittori Spagnuoli del Quattrocento in Sardegna:* L'Arte, X, 1907, pp. 359 sqq.

[25] Tormo y Monso, *Los Pintores Cuatrocentistas, Juan Reixach:* Cultura Española, 1908, pp. 775 sqq., 1064 sqq. The documents involved here will be found on pp. 785–8, 1076–8. Cf. also *Jacomart*, pp. 54, 176.

Spanish data

[26] Tramoyeres, Cultura Española, IX, 139.

[27] Sanpere y Miquel, *Cuatrocentistas Catalanes*, I, 178.

[28] Tormo, *op. et loc. cit.* especially p. 1079.

[29] *V.* note 19.

[30] Sanpere y Miquel, *Cuatrocentistas Catalanes*, II, 16–36.

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INDEX

Alghero, 8, 9, 16, 28, 29, 31, 36, 38; Catalan, speech of, 28, 43.
Ampurias (Catalonia), 6, 32; (Sardinia), 35, 101, 113.
Apostolado, 46, 185.
Aragon, 22, 45, 78, 79; architecture, 143, 192; conquest by, 24; dress, 83, 145; painting, 79, 80, 87, 99, 120; Forment, 149; kings, Alfonso IV, 24, 28, 30; Alfonso V, 22, 29, 33, 64, 111; Ferdinand, 34; Jaime II, 21, 24, 27; Juan II, 34; Martin the Humane, 29, 30, 32, 33; Pedro IV, 28, 30, 57.
Arborea, 9, 22, 23, 32; *Codice di A.*, 47, 175; Judges, Barisone, 10; Eleanora, 22; Mariano, 21, 29, 57; M., 22, 30; Parasone, 18; Ugone III, 23, 24, 57.
Architecture, Aragonese, 143; Comacine, 15; Sardinian, 13–17.
Ardara, 9, 14, 17; retable, 132, 133, 138, 144; frescoes, 138.
Aru, vii, viii, 48, 61, 63, 67, 91, 127, 150, 152, 154, 162, 173, 208.
Asinara, gulf of, 31, 37.
Avignon, 47, 80, 108, 111.
Avila, retables, 74, 136.
Azulejos, 80, 82, 86, 101, 106, 155, 193, 201, 208.
Balearic Isles, 1, 8, 10, 23; Mallorca, 6, 30.
Barcelo, Daniel, 197, 208.
Barcelo, Joan, 61, 81–85, 91, 113, 151, 158, 208.
Barcelona, 24, 28, 31, 40, 111, 194; painting at, 66, 203; cathedral, 149; chapter-room, 58, 177; collections at, 77, 109, 119.

Bertaux, 77, 120, 209.
Bisarcio, 36, 133, 142.
Bishops, of D. Dalmacio de Mur, 79, 80, 87; in Naples, 122, 161; in Valladolid, 123, 127.
Bishop's Vision, 162, 166.
Borumini, 187.
Bosa, 46, 124, 153, 178, 185.
Brunelli, vii, 113, 118, 178.
Byzantine, art, 16, 49, 50; building, 5, 49; emperors, 6, 196; painting, 60, 66; tradition, 83, 180.
Cagliari, 4, 8, 9, 25–27, 28, 36, 95, 102; *castillo*, 23; gate, 173; churches, Carmine, 174, 195; cathedral, 15, 17, 24, 27, 32, 171; S. Agostino, 81; museum, 46, 67, 162, 177, 186, 190, 205; tiles, 193; Bay of C., 38, 85, 173.
Calvary, Sard, 159, 162, 172, 180.
Carrillo, D. Martin, 40.
Castelsardo, 9, 33, 36, 46; siege of, 36–7; Madonna of, 47, 101, 113–117, 195; S. Michael, 115.
Catalan, architecture, 15, 16; bars, 26, 27; churches, 50; Cortes, 29, 30, 33; language, 43; 45; land, 23; names, 24, 32, 63; persons, 6, 10, 38, 67; shipping, 28; C. painting, 118; fresco, 50; style, 64; retables, 134, 148; at Cubells, 78, 198; Ripoll, 203; Solsona, 88.
Cavaro, Pietro, 148, 152, 153, 154–160, 162.
Cervera, 67, 76, 78, 79, 210.
Churches of Sardinia, 13–17; 5, 16.
Codice de Arborea, 47, 175.
Collections, Añes, 77, 80; Bosch, 83; Cabot, viii, 76; Casas, 109, 119; Gardner, 57, 93,

108; Lazaro, 93, 108, 109; Spano, 47, 188; Tschudi, 80, 175; Wernher, 108.
Cossu, D. Pietro, 153.
Denia, 7, 198, 199; Mochehid, 7.
Dolianova, 13, 17, 36, 128; fresco, 54; retable, 127–131.
Florence, 28; Florentine, 37; painting, 59; *v.* influence.
Figuera, viii, 61, 67–79, 151, 204; predella, 75, 126; S. George, 76; genius, 78, 79.
Fonni, 46, 47, 179; polyptych, 178–180.
French, 5, 6, 36; art, 52, 157; painting, 47; miniatures, 71, 73; kings, Charlemagne, 5, 6, 24, 50; Charles VIII, 112.
Fresco, used for mosaic, 50; Ardara, 138; Dolianova, 54; Saccargia, 52–54.
Gallura, 9, 12, 18, 21.
Genoa, 10, 21, 28; Genoese, 7, 11, 23, 31, 36; Doria, 8, 20, 23, 25, 30; Andrea D., 36.
Giles, A. R., vii, 44, 176, 206, 210; E., 178, 188.
Giudici, 2, 7, 9, 18.
Goceano, 19, 33, 57.
Gonnostramatza, retable, 152, 153.
Gothic, 15, 80, 192; Spanish G., 15, 143; people, 4.
Huguet, 66, 74, 79, 81, 105, 202–4; family, 202; Tarrassa retable, 74, 78, 203; Installation of S. Augustine, 78, 81, 202.
Iconography: Angel, 167, 173; basket of wools, 60; bird, 61, 105, 177; Bishop's Vision, 161; cult-figure archaic, 122, 146; Dove flies to ear, 105; hands raised, 53, 99, 180; journey to Bethlehem, 83; Madonna *lattante*, 92, 139; Pietà, evolution of, 94–5, 75, 89, 106, 126, 135,

147, 181, 195; saint as exorcist, 70, 75, 126; saints in pairs, 58, 177; *Transito*, 93, 137, 158, 169; Vernicle, 141; *v.* Calvary, Sard; Rider; Saints.
Influence: Aegean, 1; Armenian (?), 15; Byzantine, 5, 16, 49, 50, 60, 66, 83, 180; Coptic, 5, 16; Flemish, 106, 111, 120, 129; Van Eyck, 106, 111; Van der Weyden, 110; Florentine, 136; oriental, 5, 16; Sienese, 56, 59, 60, 74, 137; Spanish, 43–6, 147, 179–80; Syrian, 15, 16, 149; Umbrian, 187.
Interior, 181, 194, 196.
Italian attitude, 23; architecture, 13; *v.* Ligurian: painting, 191; *v.* Raphael: wars, 33; cities: Bologna, 20; Pavia, 4; Massa Marittima, 13; Volterra, 13; south-I., 47, 51, 109.
Jacomart Baço, 64, 111, 123, 200–202, 209.
Jativa, 34, 63, 123, 124, 164, 197, 200, 208; J. and Sanluri, 209.
Liguria, 13, 43; Ligurian, 81.
Logudoro, 9, 51.
Lombards, 4, 5; L. architecture, 14, 16.
Lussu, 189–191.
Manga, 80, 85, 158.
Manno, Baron, viii, 40, 42, 112.
Marbles, 2, 9, 14, 52, 80.
Martis, 190.
Mas, viii, 150.
Masters, Sard: architects, Anselm, 15; Benedetto, 13, 17; Placentino, 64; *v.* Painters.
Milis, Calvary, 64.
Monasteries: mainland, Camaldolese, 51, 62; Cluniac, 10; Monte Cassino, 11, 12; S.

Victor, 10: Sardinian, Saccargia, 13; S. Fulgentius, 4: Spanish, Ripoll, 203; Segorbe, 58, 125, 177, 200; *v.* Orders.
Moors, 5, 6, 7; Mochehid, 7; Musetto, 7, 8.
Morellian method, 71, 77, 116.
Mosaics, 49, 50.
Mudéjar, 16, 57.
Muru, 133, 136, 138, 148.
Naples, 45, 57, 59, 111, 112; painting in church of S. Lawrence, 59, 81, 108, 201, 207; in SS. Severino e Sosio, 122, 161; in Museum, 110, 165, 171.
Nuraghi, 1, 7, 18.
Oliena, 35, 46, 47, 185; Virgin of Monserrat, 118, 176, 185.
Olzai, 92, 137, 183.
Orani, 184.
Orders, Knightly: *Jarra* and *Pilar*, 77; Montesa, 146, 148; Mendicant, 40; Monastic, Benedictine, 11; Camaldolese, 51, 62; Merced, 43, 198.
Oristano, 9, 11, 23, 24, 29, 31, 33, 34, 124; Marquis of, 33, 124; cathedral, 176; Madonna from, 47, 152; Madonna in, 177; Franciscan paintings, 64, 175, 176; painting at, 64, 118, 174, 177.
Ottana, 15, 36, 182; polyptych of, 55, 57–61, 125, 195.
Painters: Italian, Cavallini, 50, 52, 53; Pagano, 163–4, 199; Pinturicchio, 131, 186; Raphael, 45, 48, 209; influence of, 131, 162, 167; copied, 147; Spanish, Berméjo, 108; Berruguete, 74; Borassá, 58, 66, 108, 208; Reixach, 197–9; Ribera, 46, 131, 189; Serra, 63, 88, 94, 119; Velazquez, 183.

Painters, Sard: Three groups, 103, 151; Stampace group, 48, 89, 102, 152; Virgin's painters, 103–4; Barcaló, Joan, 150; Barcelo, Joan, 81–85; 208; Castagnola, Bartolomé, 175; Cavaro, Lorenzo, 152, 153; Pietro, 154–160; family, 152–3; Figuera, Joan, 67–79, 210; Guallerotti, Fra Giacomo, 62; Imparato, Girolamo, 174, 189, 195; Lussu, Andrea, 189–191; Muru, Joan, 133–138; Piccalull, Berengar, 63, 150; Pinna, Diego, 187; Porcu, 142, 143; Pollini, Domenico, 17, 62; Thomás, Rafael, 67–74, 151.
Perfugas, church, 143; retable, 142–148.
Pestilence, 38, 125; retable of the, 92–97.
Pietà, *v.* Iconography.
Pisa, 10, 12, 13, 21, 25, 62; Pisans, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 21, 23, 25; P. style, 13, 48, 55.
Ploaghe, 46, 136.
Popes, 7, 18; Benedict VIII, 7; Benedict XIII, 31; Boniface VIII, 24; Clement IV, 21; Gregory the Great, 5; Gregory IX, 18; John XVIII, 7; Urban V, 29.
Primitives, 45, 71, 157, 190, 191.
Quattrocento, 48, 131; defined, 132.
Religion, 3, 5, 195; religious drama: in Sardinia, 44; in Europe, 44, 87, 88.
Reixach, 197–200, 208; family, 199.
Retables, Sard (*pictor ignotus*): Retable of Ardara, small, 139; Bessude, 210; of Birmingham, 118, 175; Bishop's Vision, 162; Carnicer, 85, 151; Castelsardo, 91, 113; Confraternity, 184; Death of Virgin, *v. Transito:* Dolianova, 127; Fonni, 179; Holy Family, 183; Lunamatrona, 159, 167; Monserrat, 185; Ottana, 57; Perfugas, 142;

Pestilence, 92, 137; Sanluri, 66, 70, 103, 120, 125; Sorres, 141; Three Saints, 118; *Transito*, 159, 169, 172; Trinity, 100; Triptychs, 55, 171; Tuili, 89, 91, 104; another, 188; Vernicle, 141; Visitation, 159, 180; others, 187–8; Retable of Villamar, 108, 154, 166, 179, 193.
Rider, 82, 135, 139, 144, 146, 210; twins, 135, 140, 184.
Roman curia, 5, 6, 9, 18, 21, 24, 39; Romans, 2; Rome, 24, 36, 38; mosaics in R. 50.
Saccargia, 13, 51, 97, 100; abbot, 102.
Sagrario, 104, 155, 168, 203.
Saints: Abdon and Senen, 78, 203; Augustine, 4; Bernardino, 68; Ausias, 80; Bartholomew, 121, 172; Clare, 85; Fabian and Sebastian, 38, 125, 140, 186; Fulgentius, 4; George, 76, 78, 144; Leonard, 121, 165; Louis of Toulouse, 77, 80; Loy, 120, 125, 126; Pantaleone, 127, 130,135, 190; Vincent Ferrer, 68, 90; Sard, SS. Ephisius, 9, 88; Gavinus, 97, 140, 146; Lucifero, 4, 88; Lussorio, 4; Protus, 99; in pairs, 58, 177; as Founders, Anthony, 56; Clare, 59; Francis, 59; S. Michael, iconography, 93, 108–111, 115, 157, 167, 173.
S. George of Alfama, 146.
Sanluri, ancona of, 120; damsel, 32; plain, 31; Viscount, 34, 124; S. and Jativa, 209.
Sanpere y Miquel, viii, 138, 202, 204, 209.
Sard character, 3, 182, 196; Crucifix, 159; crown, 34; parliament, 28–9, 33; religion, 43; religious drama, 44; language, 43; names Catalan, 24, 32, 63.
Sardinia, inhabitants, 1, 37, 43, 45, 194, 196;

opinion, Italian, 23, 112; Roman, 2, 3; delivered from Tunis, 38; under Spanish rule, 42; in Dante, 20–22; sees of, 35.
Sardinian painting, 45, 91, 100, 160, 170, 191, 192; painters, 54, 103; arts, 107, 193.
Sards, gallant; Cubells, Leonard, 32; Anton, 33; Dessena, Diego, 39; Francisco, 36; Giovanni, 31; Pietro, 34; Manca, Giacomo, 36, 39.
Sassari, 22, 24, 28, 29, 36, 37, 151; pictures in, 47, 159, 187; triptych, 47, 55; Three saints of Torres, 118.
Segorbe, retable of, 58, 125, 177, 200.
Seville, 46, 179, 180.
Sicily, 21, 24, 27, 29, 34, 49, 50, 112; customs, 19; fleets of, 31; King Martin of, 30, 32; painting, 45, 47.
Soradile, 178, 180, 198.
Sorres, S. Pietro, 15, 141–142.
Spain, 6, 23; kings, Charles V, 36, 38; Philip II, 40; Philip III, 40; Queen Isabel, 18, 35; towns, Manresa, 73, 109; Salamanca, 98, 131; Saragossa, 87; Zamora, 137.
Spanish, 140; absorption, 43; architecture, 16, 143; churches, 15, 50, 54; folk-lore, 83; hagiography, 44, 109; influence, 147; language spoken, 43; painting, 45, 147, 191; policy, 34, 35, 40, 41; Prado, 83; realism, 86, 195; subjects, 30, 33, 38; *v.* painters, Spanish.
Spano, viii, 47, 62, 64, 102, 118, 133, 137, 147, 151, 153, 174, 184, 188, 190; collection, 47, 188.
Stampace, 26, 27, 180; Crucifix, 160; painters

of, 48, 89, 102, 152, 173; S. Francisco, 67, 89, 127, 162.
Suelli, 187.
Tormo, 107, 122, 163, 209.
Torres, 9, 21; Adelasia, 18–20; Bishop of, 62; S. Gavino of, 14, 17.
Tramoyeres, 16, 209.
Tuili, 188; Virgin of, 47, 107, 203.
Tuscany, 44, 55, 58, 192.
Valencia, 9, 16, 43, 45, 118, 163, 186, 199; residence in, 63, 197; painting, 59, 66, 74, 124, 208; retable of SS. Martin and Ursula, 82, 84.
Vergós, 56, 65, 72, 88, 99, 122, 126, 156, 190, 204; retable of Granollers, 122; Sarría, 129.
Viana, prince of, 34, 78.
Vich, 66, 88, 108, 118, 204, 208.
Western aspect, 4, 23, 44.
Women, 18; Adelasia, 18, 20; Benedetta, 18, 22; Eleanora, 22, 29, 30, 57; Giovanna Visconti, 21.
Zaragoza, Lorenç, 64, 108.
Zuri, S. Pieto, 15.

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Number of Volumes.—Any reasonable request for books will be granted if applicant wishes them for study or research work and books are not needed elsewhere.

Time Kept.—Books must be received at the State Library within 28 days from the date of loan. They may be renewed for the same period upon request, as long as needed for study, unless reserved for other borrowers. Date upon which books will be due in the library is given on notice of shipment. Some books will be issued for shorter period and may not be renewed.

Groups of books for home clubs and libraries are loaned for longer periods of from three to six months.

Fines.—A fine of one cent a day must be paid for books kept, without renewal, beyond period for which loan is made. No book will be loaned to anyone who has failed to meet the obligations of borrowers as given in these rules. Notice will be sent when books are five days overdue without having been renewed.

Lost and Injured Books.—Borrowers are held responsible for books and are required to pay for lost and injured volumes. Number of pieces loaned is given on notification postal and borrowers are held responsible for this number unless notice of shortage or error is sent immediately upon receipt of package.

Books must be kept clean, must not be marked and corners of leaves must not be turned down.

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